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ושרח אחתם
And Serah,
their sister.
--Genesis 46:17

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THE

RISE AND DESTINY

OF THE GERMAN JEW

COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION

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THE RISE AND DESTINY
OF THE GERMAN JEW

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CINCINNATI, MCMXXXIV
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To the Memory of
My Father
AARON MARCUS

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

IN these days of distress for our people in Germany, the entire Jewish world is concerned about the welfare of this large and significant Jewish community. What happened to the Jews in Germany? How did it come about that medievalism has become entrenched? What are the theories of the enemies of the Jew in Germany? What are the causes of the virulent anti-Semitic movement in so civilized a land as Germany was reputed to be? What part did the German Jews play in the development of German life economically, politically, socially, and culturally? Did the German Jews contribute something unique from a Jewish cultural point of view? These fundamental questions among others are discussed, clarified, and in many cases answered, in the work prepared by Professor Marcus.

The chapters on the inner life of German Jewry will be of special interest to those who are always seeking to find the inner spirit of things. The general reader will be stimulated to thought by the discussion of the future of German Jewry and Hitlerism and its relation to the rest of the world. The tragedy of the Jews in Germany requires action on the part of Jewry. What can world Jewry do about it? Any action must be based on a keen objective analysis of the elements that enter into the situation. Such analysis must be carried on in the light of a historical study of conditions of the Jews in that land.

We trust that members of our congregations and Jews in America, in general, will give themselves to the study of the very serious problem which confronts a large section of our people in Germany, the effects of which already have proven to be far-reaching. Perhaps intelligent thinking on our part may yet lead to a solution of some of the vexing problems that confront us.

EMANUEL GAMORAN

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JACOB R. MARCUS

Cincinnati, Ohio
August, 1934

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THE
RISE AND DESTINY
OF THE GERMAN JEW

CHAPTER I

EMANCIPATION AND DISCRIMINATION

(1871-1934)

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION

AFTER centuries of silent suffering, the dawn of democracy in America and France spurred the Jews of Germany to hope for emancipation. In 1871, after a tense hundred-year struggle, the Jews were finally granted "formal equality" in the German Empire. The victory was far from complete, however, for neither the rulers nor the dominating landed and military aristocracy were minded to reverse their traditional unsympathetic attitude toward the Jews; individually they did all they could to stifle Jewish advance and to prevent absolute equality. Few Jews were allowed to become full professors at the universities; even fewer were commissioned as officers of the Imperial Army; and it remained practically impossible for a Jew to be appointed to either the diplomatic, the consular, or the civil service. The equality afforded to Jews was, thus, formal but not all-embracing.

This position of "formal equality" continued throughout the existence of the Second Empire (1871-1918). However, there came in close succession the War, the collapse of the Empire (November, 1918), the flight of the erratic Kaiser William II, and the rise to power of new elements: the business man and the working class.

With these changes came a more liberal attitude toward the Jews. They were now admitted into the various branches of civil service, although not in proportion to their numbers. In the field of education, too, there was a change for the better; more Jews were accepted as teachers in the secondary schools and as instructors in the universities. More Jews engaged in politics; a few even became cabinet members. More economic opportunities were afforded them. Wider fields for literary, artistic, and journalistic work were opened to them. As part of the *bourgeoisie,* now in power, their social status likewise improved.

The democratic Weimar Constitution of 1919 granted to the Jewish religious community the same right to financial support that it accorded to the other church groups. The struggle for emancipation and absolute equality seemed at last to have ended successfully. The Jew under the Republic was more willingly accepted as an equal in the economic, political, educational, and social life of the community than at any previous time in history; the Fatherland seemed at last to have acknowledged the legitimacy of one of its oldest and most loyal sons.

THE JEWS UNDER THE THIRD (NAZI) EMPIRE

This triumph, however, was short-lived. After a few hopeful years, sudden disaster descended, and the labor of centuries was undone at one blow. The Jew was driven back—beyond his pre-War status, beyond even the formal equality of the Second Empire—to complete medieval darkness.

This reversal of status was largely the work of one man, Adolf Hitler, and of his party, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (*National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei,* abbreviated N.S.D.A.P.). Beginning on January 30, 1933, this man and his party rose to power, not as the result of peaceful parliamentary change, but through a revolution of violence, marked by a long series of atrocities lasting from March to July, 1933. The barbarity with which the suddenly victorious Nazi hordes hurled themselves upon their real or imagined enemies, the Jews, the nationalists, the liberals, the socialists, and the communists, was too fierce to remain a matter of local concern. Authentic reports of the atrocities perpetrated on every hand spread abroad, arousing such a storm of protest in all civilized nations of the world that Hitler was soon forced, on the one hand, to exercise some restraint over his followers, and, on the other hand, to institute a most rigid censorship over all news and correspondence going out to foreign countries.

Calvin Hoover in his *Germany Enters the Third Reich* tells us of Jews who had their beards torn out, of women who were savagely beaten, and of Jews who had swastikas burnt into their scalps. He states: "There can be no question as to the responsibility of the National Socialist leaders for these acts of violence" (p. 110). There is ample evidence from a variety of authentic sources that hundreds were blackjacked and dozens beaten to death.

It must not be assumed, however, that the Jews were the sole objects of these vicious attacks; they are only one of several groups that have suffered the wrath of the mob. The communists and socialists have received even worse treatment than the Jews and have had fewer protagonists outside of Germany to raise protesting voices in their behalf. The former Nazi Minister-President of Saxony, Manfred von Killinger, in a series of reminiscences of his experience in putting down the communist revolt in Munich in 1919, tells how he had one of his men throw a hand grenade at an impudent communist street agitator and then describes with gusto the anguish of the man torn to pieces.

Judging from their own records, the sadistic impulse seems to be strong among many of the Nazis. For a period of months this impulse was given free and unrestrained sway. The masses were given the opportunity, which had been promised them, to wreak physical vengeance upon those who were portrayed by their leaders as their enemies.

At present (August, 1934) the reports of atrocities have practically ceased, but the terrorism under which the people live has increased with the growing power of the new government. Open violence, which aroused so many protests from the rest of the world and redounded so strongly, economically and politically, to the disfavor of the new government, has been replaced by a more insidious but equally effective policy of "humane extermination." This policy is being applied without mercy to all whom Hitler and his cohorts regard as the enemies of the new German state.

The National Socialists are determined to effect a thoroughgoing revolution that will embrace every group. They wish to change radically and to control completely every expression of life and government. To this end, they have destroyed or assimilated all political parties in Germany, from the radical communists to the fiery nationalists. They have seized hold of every instrument of economic life from the socialistic trades-unions to the vast capitalistic industrial and commercial associations. They have assumed complete domination of the cultural life of the country by rigidly controlling the student-bodies, the universities, the theaters, the press, and even the sport and athletic associations. They have eliminated every last vestige of independent political autonomy from the various German states, leaving the entire Empire under the unified and dominating control of Hitler and his aides.

Under such a system, all traces of democracy and of democratic "rights" of citizens were inevitably doomed to extinction. By decree of President von Hindenburg, dated February 28, 1933, the following rights of man which had been incorporated in the Weimar Constitution were set aside until further notice: liberty of person; freedom of the press; right of assembly; secrecy of postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication; inviolability of dwellings; and sanctity of private property.

Today, any statement that the government resents may be construed as high treason and is punishable by death. A vast, well-organized system of espionage has been established (every member of the N.S.D.A.P. is on the lookout for infractions), and has cowed all opposing forces into abject submission. Huge concentration camps have been established all over Germany, the inmates of which are subjected to hard labor, rigorous military discipline, and brutal corporal punishment. Any man of whom the Nazis wish to dispose may be seized by the Secret Police and imprisoned indefinitely in one of these camps or executed without trial, the report being given out that he had tried to escape, or had committed suicide, or had died of tuberculosis. The government itself admitted that there are about 9,000 people now in these concentration camps under "protective arrest" (1934). Probably 30,000 to 50,000 were held and disciplined in these camps in 1933.

Just how many of these are Jews is not known, but it is established that many prominent Jewish business and professional men, intellectuals, or former officials are among these prisoners. The Jewish masses are completely terrorized. Not only do individual Jews fear that they may be thrown into a concentration camp and never come out, but all of them live in common mortal dread of a pogrom. Should any prominent Nazi leader be attacked or assassinated, there is not the slightest doubt in their minds that the Nazi masses, whipped into a frenzy by the anti-Semitic press, would massacre the Jews ruthlessly. Hitler himself has made it clear that he considers all German Jewry as hostages for the good behavior of foreign Jewries towards the new Germany. Even for activities outside Germany, these unfortunate Jews are held responsible.

There is doubt, however, that the fear of widespread pogroms at the present is well grounded. It is probable that the masses of the Party, if not some of the leaders, originally envisaged a program which would wipe out the entire Jewish community. The response of the world to the atrocity reports made it clear, however, that such a policy could never be put into execution. Various other sporadic measures of oppression have been tried. For example, individual villages in Bavarian Franconia have posted notices denying admission to Jews; many Jews, primarily East Europeans, have been deprived of their citizenship; others have had their bank accounts and their property arbitrarily confiscated (as happened to Einstein); in other cases, boycott of Jews and Jewish businesses has been enforced. But these measures also proved too spectacular. Protests from other countries and opposition of certain Gentile groups within Germany demonstrated the wisdom of gentler but none the less effective methods.

As a result, Germany is now engaged in a determined policy of "humane extermination" of Jews. Physical violence is rigidly tabooed as an open procedure, even though occasional strategic "accidents" may occur in concentration camps and the like. The desired ends are to be brought about by the elimination of all Jewish influences upon the political, economic, cultural, or social life of Germany. The mechanism to be employed is legislation coupled with merciless enforcement so that, as far as possible, no exceptions occur.

The imprisonment or the murder of a few hundred or even a few thousand Jews, revolting as it is to the civilized mind, is, yet, from the long-range point of view of history, an unimportant matter. Such tragedies have been encountered and survived frequently in the course of history. But the spectacle of this new weapon—the legal arm of the anti-Jewish legislation of the Third Reich—used against a whole people, crushing not heads and bones but souls and spirits, is a new one. This approach is more subtle; it is endowed more with the aspect of permanence; it can be challenged with much greater difficulty; it does not lend itself easily to vivid dramatization and is hence less potent than cracked skulls or torn beards in arousing the horrified sympathy of foreign nations.

Again it must be recalled that it is not only against the Jews that the oppressive legislation of the Nazi Government is levelled. Socialists and communists as well as other hated groups come in for more than their share of persecution. In many instances the treatment accorded to these groups is far worse, both individually and collectively, than that accorded the Jews. However, since the charges against the Jews and the promises made to the masses (relative to anti-Jewish treatment in the event of Nazi accession to power) played such a great part in the rise of Hitler and his Party, the fulfillment of these promises has become a dominant factor in the Nazi program. Hence we are justified in confining our attention to the Jews only.

It is difficult at this stage to codify the anti-Jewish legislation of the Third Reich. This legislation is in a state of constant confusion and contradiction. Numerous decrees relative to the Jews are issued by the Empire, by the several states and districts, and by the Nazi party, which really parallels the Empire as a source of authority. In addition to the legislation of the Empire and the Nazi party, there are the decisions of the various economic, cultural, and social associations which form a third source of anti-Jewish discriminatory measures. The enactments of these various groups are frequently overlapping and not infrequently contradictory. It is probable, however, that the Third Empire will coordinate all this conflicting legislation and acquaint the Jew definitely with his new inferior status. In the meantime, we can pick, out of the mass of legislation, certain salient laws.

* * *

What professional activities of the Jew did this new legislation attempt to limit? Is there any National Socialist law affecting the practice of the Jewish religion? What legislation is there, if any, governing the participation of non-Aryans in the commerce, industry, and agriculture of the New Germany?

CHAPTER II

ANTI-JEWISH LAWS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS

LAW FOR RESTORATION OF REGULAR CIVIL SERVICE

OF all the anti-Jewish legislation, the most significant single item is the Aryan Paragraph of the Law for the Restoration of the Regular Civil Service. This paragraph, dated April 7, 1933, reduces every German Jew to the status of a second-class citizen. It reads as follows:

> Par. 3—(1) Civil servants of non-Aryan origin must retire; as regards the honorary officials they must be dismissed. (Non-Aryan descent means descent from non-Aryan and especially Jewish parents or grandparents even though only one of the parents or grandparents was of the Jewish religion.)
>
> (2) The above section does not apply to officials who were already employed as officers of the civil service on the first of August, 1914, or who, during the Great War, fought at the front for Germany or her allies, or who lost their fathers or sons in the war. . . .

This is the most important anti-Jewish law in the Third Empire for it has since been applied not only to the civil service but also to numerous other avenues of the political, economic, social, and cultural life. Proceeding from the premise that the Jew, as a Semite, is a menace to western civilization, this law deprives him of many opportunities of an economic and cultural character. Only those who were active in their professions or work before 1914, who have a war record, or who have lost a member of their family in battle are exempted. The rigors of this law are intensified by the interpretation that one must actually have engaged in combat or have been wounded in order to merit the designation of one who "fought at the front for Germany." The authorities do not hesitate, even so, to disregard the 1914 clause when it suits their purpose.

The most cruel phase of the Aryan law is that it designates as Jews hundreds of thousands of German Christians who chance to have had a Jewish parent or ancestor but are themselves thoroughly Christian and "Aryanized." These unfortunates, classed as Jews, are disabled civilly even though they are usually innocent of even the slightest sympathy for Judaism.

RESTRICTIONS ON CIVIL SERVANTS AND LAWYERS

Applied to the civil service, the Aryan law practically eliminates all Jews from positions as officials in either the national, the municipal, or the local governments; all Jewish administrative, legal, and judicial officials in these branches of government are either pensioned or dismissed summarily. Furthermore, inasmuch as most public utilities in Germany belong to the government, Jews may not serve as officials in either the postal or telephone services; they may not serve on the railways or street-cars; they are banned from service in the army and navy, as well as in the canal and harbor service. Neither may Jews hold positions in the municipal hospitals or in the public schools of Germany.

Under an additional law also promulgated on April 7, 1933, all German Jewish lawyers, with the same exceptions noted above, were forbidden to practice their profession. To the dismay of the authors of this law, it was discovered that there were so many Jews eligible for exemption, that is, who had set up in practice prior to 1914 or were war veterans, that, in Berlin, for instance, only 40 per cent could be disbarred by the Aryan Paragraph. However, the remaining 60 per cent of exempted lawyers can derive very little consolation from the fact that they are exempt. They are ruined as surely as their disbarred colleagues, for no Gentile (or even Jew) would care to allow any case in which he has something at stake to be presented by a Jewish attorney before a Nazi judge or jury.

A decision of a Berlin court (*Landgericht Berlin,* 86. *Zivilkammer*), February 23, 1934, will help us appreciate the difficulties under which even Christian judges of Jewish origin labor in the new state. In a statement to the court, a non-Jewish litigant, a woman, objected to the testimony of a Jewess on the ground that the Jewish religion commands its followers to perjure themselves, if necessary, in any action involving a Gentile. Now, continues the statement, inasmuch as the judge is of Jewish origin (although a Christian by religion for two generations) it is logical to assume that he will be prejudiced against the defendant for her attack on Jewish morals. The defendant therefore asks that her case be turned over to an Aryan judge. Her request was granted (*Juristische Wochenschrift, Heft* 15, April 14, 1934).

By special decree Jewish lawyers cannot work for or form partnerships with Aryan lawyers. The courts refuse to appoint Jewish attorneys to represent the poor; Jews are also forbidden to be tax consultants, notaries, customs experts, patent lawyers, jurors, court-clerks, or attendants. Although war veterans and pre-1914 men are supposedly exempt from all these restrictions, in actual practice many of them are also eliminated. Under the terms of the present law not a single additional Jewish candidate may be admitted to the bar. It is probable, though, that when the status of German Jewry is fixed by a special constitution, a limited number of Jews will be permitted to take the bar examinations.

RESTRICTIONS ON TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

The attempt to prevent the Jew from exercising any cultural influence on German life would naturally be expected to express itself in the rigid application of the Aryan Paragraph to all college professors and school teachers. Hundreds of these have been summarily dismissed, leaving but a handful of Jews in academic positions. Even those who are exempted from the provisions of the Aryan Paragraph because of their pre-1914 appointment, their war record, or their international reputation have in many cases been forced to resign because of student agitation directed against them.

The restrictions against Jews in the academic field are directed not only against those who teach but also against those who wish to learn. Jewish students in the high schools (*Gymnasien*) and colleges are subject to the Law Against the Overcrowding of the German Schools and Universities (April 25, 1933). This law provides that Jewish children are to be enrolled in German schools to a maximum proportion of 1.5 per cent of the number of Aryan entrants. The Jews already in the institution are to be dismissed to the extent that their numbers exceed 5 per cent of the total registration.

> "These rules do not apply in the case of non-Aryans whose fathers have fought at the front during the War for Germany or her Allies, or to children whose parents were married before the adoption of this law if the father or mother or two of the grandparents are of Aryan origin."

The few Jews who in the future will be allowed to attend the universities will not be admitted into the official student bodies. Their yellow-striped student cards are to serve as badges of shame to set them apart, as has already been done at the University of Berlin. In some states Jewish student associations are forbidden, and the railroad-fare rebates formerly granted to all travelling students are denied to Jews.

In the elementary school system, there have thus far been no limitations on attendance, but the reduction of school fees or the grant of free textbooks to poor Jewish children and orphans will not be tolerated in the future.

By state decree new textbooks have been introduced in which the racial interpretation of history is emphasized. In such books the Jews are accused, as Asiatics and non-Aryans, of political and economic treason to the state. This assault on the morale of the Jewish school children is occasionally supplemented by physical attacks at the hands of their Christian fellow students. Sherwood Eddy reports that Jewish children are insulted and spat upon, and tells of a boy of twelve who attempted suicide because one of his ancestors was Jewish. Although there are undoubtedly some exceptions, it is highly probable that the average German elementary school is not a very pleasant place for a Jewish child today.

LIMITATIONS ON THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE

On the basis of both the Aryan paragraphs of the Civil Service Law and a series of later decrees, Jews are in effect prevented from practicing medicine or dentistry. They may not practice under the government or the semi-public health insurance associations unless they have war records or began their work prior to 1914. Inasmuch as about 90 per cent of the patients of the average German doctor belong to some sort of public or private health insurance association, the prohibition against treating people who belong to these *Krankenkassen* actually spells ruin for the Jewish physician or dentist. Few doctors have a sufficiently large practice among strictly private patients to enable them to make a living. The number of Jewish medical men still practicing in the *Krankenkassen* is rapidly diminishing. Some officials in these *Krankenkassen* refuse to pay bills presented by patients who have consulted Jewish doctors. In many ways, some quite open and others more subtle, the people are intimidated against patronizing Jewish physicians. In medicine, as in law, the percentage of Jewish physicians who will be permitted to carry on their work is destined in the future to be reduced to not more than a small fraction of the total number of practitioners.

RESTRICTIONS IN OTHER FIELDS

Among the other fields besides civil service, law, and medicine, in all of which restrictions have been rigidly imposed upon Jews, all those fields which have any connection at all with propaganda have been the object of the attention of the Nazi cleansers.

The National Press Law of October 5, 1933, which placed political newspapers under state supervision, also applied the Aryan Paragraph to newspapermen back to the third generation. This will ultimately have the effect of eliminating all Jews from the field of journalism. In addition, from now on any Aryans who marry women of Jewish blood cannot hope to continue the practice of their profession. This prohibition against marriage to non-Aryan women will be applied in the future to all civil and military servants who wish to remain in the service of their country.

In the theater, in which Jews have hitherto played an important rôle, the restrictions have been especially rigid. The state and municipal theaters and opera houses have dismissed practically all of their non-Aryan employees as well as all artists and musicians who fail to meet the test of "Aryanism." The film industry has been the scene of the greatest activity of the Nazi purifiers. The indusry has been placed under the complete control of the government and has been reorganized as an instrument of propaganda. So far-reaching has this reorganization been that all German-born stars working in foreign countries have been ordered to return to Germany to lend their talents to the service of the state. Needless to say, this industry has been Aryanized from the directors down to the stage-hands.

However, it is not only the propaganda fields that have been affected in this fashion. The restrictions have been as extensive as they are intensive. Jews are prohibited, for example, from establishing heritable homesteads. They cannot even receive the blessing of the government in the private enterprise of establishing a family. Newly-married couples receive a scrip subsidy from the state—but for this subsidy no Jews need apply. They may not even receive any indirect benefits from this scrip; Aryan couples are in many places forbidden to buy commodities in Jewish places of business with their scrip.

ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DISABILITIES OF JEWS IN THE NEW GERMANY

The open restrictions in agriculture, civil service, and the professions are complemented by more subtle restrictions in the field of commerce and industry. The difference is, however, that whereas the former affect a small number of Jews, the latter gnaw at the vitals of almost the whole Jewish group, since the largest proportion of the Jews in Germany are wage-earners or *entrepreneurs* in some form of commercial or industrial enterprise.

Very many industrial and commercial firms controlled by non-Jews have dismissed their Jewish employees. Jewish executives and clerks are a serious liability to which business organizations are loath to subject themselves even when their sympathies lean toward the Jews. Many large business enterprises, managed or owned by Jews, have been forced to pursue the same policy of dismissing Jewish employees in order to avoid the unwelcome attentions of officious Nazis.

But even such measures frequently fail to save the owners or managers. Various forms of economic pressure, like calling in outstanding loans, etc., have been used to compel Jewish owners to surrender control of their establishments or to turn over the helm to Aryan managers. The fate of Jewish employees in such establishments can readily be imagined.

As examples of the above procedure, the abdication of Lachmann-Mosse and the Ullsteins from the great newspaper plants of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Vossische Zeitung* (now defunct) may be cited. Similarly the Tietzes no longer control their own great department stores; and the A. E. G. (*Allgemeine Elektricitäts Gesellschaft*) has undergone radical changes in management and personnel.

The Imperial Bank (*Reichsbank*) has been placed under the terms of the Aryan Paragraph. Henceforth, Jews may not be employed, and must be dismissed if already employed, in any of the branches of this great banking system. Pressure has also been brought to bear on the large semi-public banks, like the *Deutsche* and the *Dresdner* banks, to dismiss their Jewish personnel. Practically all the licensed stockbrokers of Jewish extraction have been dismissed from the Stock Exchange.

The producers' and consumers' cooperatives and the retailers' and wholesalers' associations play a large part in the economy of the German people. Economic discrimination against Jews, with all its attendant consequences, is the rule in a large number of these organizations. All of them are forced by law to remove their Jewish officers and some even to expel their Jewish members. What the law does not compel, private initiative among the zealous often accomplishes even more effectively. The loan societies are in the same class as the cooperatives. In Nuremberg, Jews may not even apply for loans to the municipal loan offices. The seriousness of this whole aspect of the situation can be judged from the fact that there are hundreds of such organizations and cooperatives embracing a membership numbering millions and doing business mounting into hundreds of millions.

This survey of the larger fields of restriction does not complete the picture. At every hand one encounters illustrations, petty or significant, of the determination to rid Germany of Jewish influence in business, industrial, agricultural, and professional fields. A number of municipalities have given orders that no materials are to be bought from Jewish firms. In some towns Jews are not granted access to the municipal stockyards. In others, they are not permitted to attend the fairs. From some markets Jews are completely barred; in others, they are segregated in special stalls. In the small towns Jewish shopkeepers are being ruined in great numbers.

Jewish employers have been limited by state order in their right to dismiss Aryan employees. Nazi intrigues among employees of Jewish concerns often lead to a state of virtual anarchy within those concerns. The enforced changes of management wreak havoc overnight with businesses which have been built up slowly throughout a lifetime. Even a Jewish hospital which has seen its income sadly reduced dare not dismiss any of its Gentile employees.

The effect of all these restrictions upon Jewish life in Germany is so great as to defy portrayal by even the most vivid imagination. Jews can survive pogroms. They cannot survive being robbed of all means of earning a livelihood.

THE BOYCOTT AS AN ANTI-JEWISH WEAPON

The effectiveness of the Aryan Paragraph has been complemented by an unofficial but injurious boycott. The Aryan Paragraph operates from the top down; high officials must decree it and lower officials enforce it. The boycott operates from the bottom up. It makes of every German citizen an instrument for Jewish degradation. The Aryan Paragraph provides various exemptions, loopholes through which Jews may occasionally slip with some hope of security; the boycott negates these exemptions and decrees an inexorable fate for all. Whom the Aryan Paragraph misses, the hatred of the incited masses may be relied upon to reach through the powerful instrumentality of the boycott.

On April 1, 1933, a boycott was inaugurated against all Jewish business men. Although it was discontinued after one day, probably because of the pressure of aroused world opinion, it served vividly and dramatically to point the way to the masses of the German people. Even in many places where it has been officially lifted, it still prevails silently.

The vast Nazi organization discourages its millions of followers from patronizing non-Aryan firms. Public officials, pension-holders, teachers, and receivers of doles are encouraged to buy from Aryans only. Intimidation exists everywhere, but is strongest in the small towns. The Chamber of Artisans of Chemnitz has demanded that no Jews at all be allowed to engage in trade, commerce, or industry. This is the "cold pogrom" which is replacing the bloody pogroms. The latter arouse much costly sympathy among the nations and are so much less effective in the long run.

Some conservative cabinet officers, and some important Nazi leaders, are beginning to realize that the boycott is not an unmixed blessing to Naziism. By bankrupting Jewish employers, many Gentiles have been put out of work in retail shops and factories. The National Socialist movement stands to lose perhaps more than it gains in this fashion. For this reason those leaders who are not blinded by their prejudices have sternly forbidden the boycott on more than one occasion. However, in order to placate those National Socialists who are anxious to "mop-up" Jewish business enterprises and to throw a sop to rabid anti-Semites, the more intolerant anti-Semitic leaders around Hitler have tolerated and encouraged periodic boycotts of a semi-public nature. In March, 1934, almost one year after the original boycott, a new boycott was unofficially but intensively carried out for two weeks in certain areas by the National Socialist Trade and Crafts Organization (*Hago*). There is no question that this measure hastened the ruin of many small business men, particularly in Franconia, where they are holding on by the skin of their teeth. A series of such boycotts would ultimately destroy completely the economic life of large numbers of Jewish merchants.

RELIGIOUS RESTRICTIONS

In the field of religious expression, no revolutionary changes have been made. Freedom of worship has not been interfered with, although the financial support which is accorded by Prussia to churches of other denominations is denied to the Synagogue.

One decree, however, has wrought havoc religiously with the masses of orthodox Jews. The ritual slaughter of cattle according to Jewish law (*Shehitah*) has been prohibited, ostensibly on humanitarian grounds, but undoubtedly because of anti-Semitism. Kosher meat cannot even be imported into the country. Orthodox

Jews are forbidden by their religion to eat the flesh of any animal unless it is slaughtered in a ritually acceptable manner. This prohibition, therefore, upsets completely their entire mode of life.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JEWS

The series of enactments that have disabled the Jew politically, economically, and culturally in the new Germany is paralleled by laws applying to social discrimination. The N.S.D.A.P. is determined to crush all those whom it considers its enemies, whether Jew or Gentile. No Jews or descendants of Jews are permitted to belong to the war veterans' associations, although occasionally exceptions are made. The Masonic Order in Prussia has been changed into the German Christian Order of Friendship and all Jews are excluded. Even the blind professional men and the Association of War Blind have legislated against the Jewish blind in their midst.

Sports are too closely allied to military training to be engaged in together with the "suspect" Jews. Jewish athletic clubs may not affiliate with various national associations. The Turners have expelled all the non-Aryan members.

Goering, Reich Commissioner for Aviation, at first refused, in a very friendly note, to allow the Jews to participate in his new civilian air defense organization because, as he mildly suggests, they cannot be relied upon. Later he changed his mind and made certain exceptions. Jews are not to hold any offices in the national chess organization, in the cycling clubs, in the lawn tennis associations, or even in the ping-pong societies. From some clubs all Jews have been summarily ousted. It was inevitable, therefore, that Dr. Prenn, one of the greatest tennis players in the country, should be excluded from the German Davis Cup team because he is a Jew. Few Jews, if any, will represent Germany at the Berlin Olympiad in spite of the promise of the German authorities that the Olympic tradition of equality of opportunity would prevail.

The prohibition against Jews associating in sports with the German Aryans is motivated not merely by the wish to exclude Jews from semi-military activities, but also by the desire to spare Aryans the danger of contacts with the "different" Semitic race. It is for this reason that Jews must not use the public swimming pools in Nuremberg or Tübingen or Plauen (1934). In the ancient town of Speyer, they may frequent the swimming pools only at special hours. Times have changed since 1084, when Bishop Rüdiger of Speyer wrote: "Inasmuch as I am making a city out of the village of Speyer I have thought to magnify the glory of our town a thousand times by inviting Jews also." In other towns, Jews may swim only from a separate section of the beach. In Breslau, no Jewish life-savers are tolerated. In Rotenburg on the Fulda, there is a castle and park which once belonged to Ernst of Hessen-Rheinfels-Rotenburg. Ernst, as early as 1671, wrote an unusual plea for Jewish toleration. Today his park has been renamed Adolf Hitler Platz and has been closed to Jews.

The urge to segregate the Jew socially takes strange forms. In a decree of January 13, 1934, the Prussian Minister of the Interior urges all Volunteer Fire Companies to exclude Jews. The Jew is ostracized not only in all social and cultural organizations but even in prison. In the concentration camp at Oranienburg, near Berlin, Jewish prisoners are confined in a narrow space, twenty by twenty-five yards, and are not allowed to approach their Aryan fellow-victims. Throughout Germany, particularly in the smaller towns, Gentiles fear to speak to Jews. Aryan families are forbidden to adopt Jewish children. In Coburg, Jews may not use the street cars (June, 1933).

The rather obvious desire of the new government to purge German cultural life of its Jewish manifestations found its most sensational expression in the huge bonfires of May 10, 1933, when thousands of volumes written by liberal, pacifist, socialist, and Jewish writers went up in smoke. These carnivals took place in many of the larger cities of Germany and were organized and supervised, *mirabile dictu,* by the student groups of the Nazi party. These leaders of culture combed their own libraries and those of their friends, as well as the public libraries to which they could gain access, in their effort to ferret out all literature "fouled" by a liberal or a Semitic "taint." The flames of the roaring bonfires which they built in the public squares consumed, symbolically, the last vestiges of liberalism and democracy in the new Reich.

In the larger libraries, copies of the works of liberals and Jews are issued only under special conditions. The Association of German Booksellers has threatened to publish in the future no books by Jewish authors written either in Germany or abroad. This threat they have thus far failed to carry out.

The nationalistic Association of German Students, in a red-letter proclamation posted on the university doors, demanded (April, 1933) that the censors see to it that the writings of Jews appear in Hebrew only. If they are to be printed in German—they must under no circumstances use the Gothic script—then let them be designated as "translations" inasmuch as no Jew can think or write in the manner of true Germans.

Jews are finding it advisable to resign from literary clubs. The music of Felix Mendelssohn, converted to Christianity as a child, is no longer sung in Germany. Statues erected to the memory of great Jewish scientists and poets are being removed and pieces of sculpture by Jewish artists are being carted away (e. g., the Elkan war memorial in Frankfort on the Main). It remained for a Nazi-minded artist to suggest, with remarkable consistency, that German painters stop using Indian-yellow. This pigment is made from a by-product of the camel, and the camel, it seems, is a Semitic animal.

"RACE SCIENCE" AND INTERMARRIAGE

The new Science of Race, which forms the keystone in the arch of the new German philosophy, is taught today in all German schools—even in the dancing academies. A later chapter will discuss this in detail. It is sufficient at this point merely to indicate that its basic tenet is the principle that Aryan racial purity must be guarded at all costs. "Contamination" by Jewish blood is a thing to be shunned universally.

Although there is no formal law prohibiting mixed marriages, no Gentile in Germany would dare to marry a Jewess today. A Gentile may not hold an office if he takes to wife a Jewess or a woman whose Jewish origin goes back as far as the third generation. No Christian whose blood is "tainted" with the "stigma" of Jewishness even to the second and third generation may become a minister of the Protestant Church.

"Race offices" are proceeding to divide the people into groups who may and may not intermarry. Darré, Minister of Agriculture, once proposed that some form of badge be employed to distinguish non-Aryan from Aryan women. Julius Streicher, the editor of the Nürnberger *Stürmer,* would like to see the medieval death penalty revived for those Jews who have sexual relations with Aryans. Others, equally irresponsible, have recommended the sterilization of all women in Germany who are not pure Teutons.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN GERMANY

As a result of the policies which have been briefly sketched in the foregoing account, the Jews of Germany are a people trapped. They cannot escape their lot by migrating. No land will admit them in large enough numbers to constitute a solution. They cannot escape their lot while remaining in Germany. They are economically hampered, politically disabled, and socially ostracized. For themselves there is but little hope. But even the consolation of the hope that their children will enjoy a happier lot is denied them. They know that their children will be denied practically every opportunity for higher education, for economic or social advancement—and they know not what further degradation lies in store for them. For some, suicide seems to be the only way out.

Withal, the Jew in Germany feels himself a German in every sense and loves his Fatherland with a fierce passion. Those who have succeeded in escaping to other countries feel no resentment against Germany or the German people with whom they are wholly at one—their bitterness is directed against the leaders who have blinded their fellow countrymen. Their hope is that light will again dawn in their beloved land. Who knows whether their hope is vain?

* * *

The Third Reich is a tragedy for many groups, certainly for the Jew. The hatred inherent in the National Socialist legislation is obviously not the growth of a few months or even years. The laws of April and May, 1933, were not conjured overnight out of the sleeves of brooding psychopaths. They are the precipitate of a thousand years of Jew baiting, and of at least fifty years of systematic anti-Semitic effort. Why did the National Socialists turn against the Jews? What fancied grievance did they nurse? Why did it all happen? How did it all happen?

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN OF GERMAN ANTI-SEMITISM

HISTORY OF THE MEDIEVAL ATTITUDE OF THE GERMANS TO THE JEWS

ULTIMATELY the large proportion of anti-Hitler Aryan Germans will probably make their peace with the Nazi state, if the state survives. They will in time be either terrorized or genuinely converted to National Socialist principles and will be accorded all cultural and economic, if not all political rights. But the Jews, because they are of a different "race," will never be accorded equality by an avowedly anti-Semitic government.

The relentless zeal with which the present anti-Semitic government has proceeded to disfranchise its Jews and to eliminate them from the cultural and economic life of the country prompts us to enter into a study of the background of the appeals which could win over so many millions of supporters. Our quest leads us to the Middle Ages.

Although Jewish communities flourished along the Rhine as early as the year 300 C.E., it was not until the eleventh century, as far as we know, that they became a force in the economic life of the land. Jews were such desirable settlers that aspiring communities invited them to dwell in their midst and accorded them special privileges. By virtue of these privileges, they were enabled to live an autonomous Jewish life, guiding their inner life by rabbinic law. In the medieval state with its classes of nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants, the Jews formed a privileged class.

This status was shortlived, however. Religious bigotry, encouraged by the Church and inflamed by the Crusades, became increasingly prevalent and soon led to a series of persecutions and massacres. The tradition of Jew-killing and hatred began as early as 1096 and continued in increasingly violent form down into the fifteenth century. As the German burghers turned more and more to commerce and trade, the growing economic competition heightened their antipathy to the Jew. Many Jews, forced out of commercial enterprises, then turned to money-lending, but were hated and persecuted even more as usurers. Not only were they prevented from engaging in commerce and finance, but other avenues of opportunity were also gradually shut off. The Jews were unwelcome in the circles of the artisan guilds, the peasants, and the landed lords. As this hatred of the Jew developed, the attitude toward him became one of contempt; he was looked upon as an inferior being. The term, Jew, as we still find in our German dictionaries, became a synonym of the vile and contemptible.

Beginning with the thirteenth century, the persecutions became more bloodthirsty. The chief accusations levelled against Jews, in addition to the basic one of economic exploitation, were that they tortured Christian children to death in a blood ritual, that they betrayed their towns to the enemy, and that, out of a sense of sadistic and malicious joy, they stole the Host, the holy wafer of the Mass, from the church and stabbed it, thus recrucifying Jesus. The Jew was thus portrayed as an enemy of the home, of the state, and of religion.

These prejudices, which had led to the massacre of thousands of Jews throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, culminated in the expulsion of the mass of Jews from Germany. Most of them went East into the Austrian lands and into Poland.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION TILL 1871

It was not until the seventeenth century, after the disastrous Thirty Years' War, that the Jews were again slowly invited back to help rebuild devastated North Germany. But the old contempt for the Jew, who by this time had become completely ghettoized, still remained; it had become a historic tradition with the Germans, almost an instinct.

As time passed, there arose among the German Jews a hope for the improvement of their position. In the second half of the eighteenth century the wealthier and more cultured Jews of Germany began the struggle for emancipation. They moved forward very slowly. The social contempt of the masses still persisted. The Churches, both Protestant and Catholic, were equally hostile to the Jews. Even the more liberal groups, unwilling to break with the anti-Jewish tradition, now seven hundred years old, believed that the evolution from discrimination to emancipation must be gradual—not in the nature of a sudden revolution.

However, the spirit of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic conquests forced the Germans, against their will, to emancipate their Jews. They deeply resented this historic compulsion, and, in the reaction that followed the fall of Napoleon in 1815, a torrent of abusive literature swamped the Jews. The depths to which this pamphleteering could sink is reflected, for instance, in the writings of the adventurer, Hartwig Hundt (1819). His solution for the Jewish problem in his *Judenspiegel* (Mirror of the Jews) was startling in its simplicity. He considered "the killing of Jews neither a sin nor a crime, but only a police offence. . . . Let the children of Israel be sold to the English, who could employ them in their Indian plantations instead of the blacks. That they may not increase, the men should be emasculated and their wives and daughters be lodged in houses of shame. The best plan would be to purge the land entirely of this vermin, either by exterminating them, or as Pharaoh and the people of Meiningen, Würzburg, and Frankfort did [in 1819], by driving them from the country."

The attacks on the Jews by Hundt reflected the strong anti-Jewish sentiment that was shared by many of the great figures in early nineteenth century German culture. The Napoleonic conquests in Germany stirred Germanic resentment; subsequently, the victorious Wars of Liberation and the downfall of France roused national enthusiasm to a high degree. Scholars now turned to a study of the medieval past when history was glorious. Germanism was exalted; the medieval German Christian state, a state in which the Jew was a stranger, was looked upon as the ideal. This romantic movement, with its idealization of the Germanic and its disregard for the Jew, proved a strong force for reaction after 1815; but it was not strong enough to stop the onward march of liberalism which reached its goal in the emancipation of the Jew in 1871.

THE RISE OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE 'SEVENTIES

The fact of Jewish emancipation was disturbing to the average Gentile. He had been taught in his church, in his home, and in literature that the Jew was different, beneath him; now he found the Jew alongside him: his political equal, his professional associate, his economic rival. It was only with a strong effort that the average Gentile could adjust himself to the thought of the Jew as an equal. To a few, such a situation was altogether unbearable and it was this minority that created the modern anti-Semitic movement. It is this minority of the 'seventies that has today come to power after some fifty years of effort and is devoting itself to the task of converting all Germans to anti-Semitism.

The anti-Jewish agitation in Germany became acute in 1879. In the 'seventies the Jews flocked to the towns; they concentrated in the professions, in journalism, and, above all, in commerce and industry. Some became wealthy. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 French reparations poured into the country, and there was an orgy of building, of promotions, and of speculation in which the Jews took an active part. Two years later, in 1873, there came the "Crash." Everybody was embittered. Someone was responsible. It was the Jew who was accused. It was immaterial that a Jewish parliamentarian, Eduard Lasker, had been the first to sound warning as to the evils of speculation. The Jews were nevertheless held accountable.

The era of speculation in the large cities was also characterized by the growth of the German Socialist Party which owes most to Karl Marx, its theoretician, and to Ferdinand Lassalle, its organizer, both Jews by birth. This party, having political and economic aims, was a threat to the Junkers, the landed lords who wanted a high price for wheat. It frightened the industrialists who feared the power of the unions. It horrified both Catholic and Protestant religionists who resented the attitude of religious indifference that characterized the movement. This unsympathetic attitude toward the Church was equally characteristic of the liberal parties and of the press with which the Jews were associated.

Bismarck had up to 1879 worked with the liberals, including the Jews, to create a united Germany, but when these groups, aspiring for a more liberal political and economic program, turned away from him, he ceased his attacks on the Catholics and turned to them and to the conservatives for political assistance. The Catholics resented the support the liberals had given Bismarck in his attempt to crush the independence of the Catholic church. The Protestants were indignant at the growing irreverence of the big city. The Junkers and the industrialists were opposed to the socialists and the liberal parties whose interests clashed with their own. The stage was now set for an anti-Jewish movement having the benevolent support of Bismarck, a movement that would damn all liberals and radicals by calling them Jewish.

The growing antagonism against the Jews was further influenced by a series of brilliantly written pamphlets and essays which were read by hundreds of thousands. These form part of an unbroken line of diatribes directed against Jewry extending from the attacks of the monkish chroniclers of the Middle Ages, through the passionate invectives of Luther, down to the emancipation in 1871. However, from the 'seventies onward, the emphasis and the basis for attacks upon the Jews shifted radically, and for the first time in several centuries, hatred of the Jews again became a real menace to Jewish well-being.

BEGINNING OF A PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC ANTI-SEMITISM

The roots of this new method of approach to the Jewish problem go back to the philological and ethnological studies of certain German and French scholars of the early nineteenth century. Philologists at that time, in treating of the history of languages, began to speak of Aryan and Semitic tongues. They went on to speak of Aryan and Semitic races, on the mistaken assumption that racial groups are identified by the languages they speak. Lassen, the philologist, professor at Bonn, went even further. In his *Indian Antiquities* (1844-1861) he declared that the Semites, as a group, were inferior to the Indo-Germans and that through their sharp intellect they took advantage of the opportunities created by others. They had created no epics, no philosophies; their religion was intolerant and fanatical. Ernst Renan, the French Semitist and scholar, added that all great military, political, and economic movements had come from the Aryans; the Semites had contributed only religion, which with its partiality to monotheism, had introduced religious intolerance. They had no understanding of civilization, no public spirit, no personal courage, he asserted.

In 1872, Hellwald, editor of the Austrian magazine, *Das Ausland,* following Renan, said that the Jews were a different race, an Asiatic race, whom Europeans instinctively resented. Exploitation of the honest Aryan was their chief aim, he claimed; they lacked a sense of unselfishness and their patriotism was subject to suspicion. Even when Aryans marry Semites, he went on, the Semitic type remains unchanged physically and morally and reappears as an atavism for generations. It is this group, rich in talents but poor in genius, that now exercises a sinister control over Central European intellectual, artistic, and commercial life, he charged. The East European Jew in particular was, to his way of thinking, a cancer, slowly eating into the flesh of the nations.

In 1879, Wilhelm Marr published his famous and widely read pamphlet, *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism.* As early as the 'sixties he had written, calling the Jews a bastard race who by nature were foreign to German character. Now he declared that Germany was being crushed politically and economically by the Jew. In a vehement, impassioned harangue he told his readers that Semitism with its unmoral materialism was in a fair way to rule and ruin Western civilization. During the same year, 1879-1880, the eminent national historian, Heinrich von Treitschke, began his well-known series of articles in the *Prussian Yearbooks* in which he expressed his objection to the Jews and voiced a popular German belief: "The Jews are our misfortune." Two years later, in 1881, Eugen Dühring, the economist and philosopher, wrote his widely read *The Jewish Question As a Racial, Moral, and Cultural Problem.*

Dühring, who was also influenced by Renan, declared that the Jews are the worst of the Semitic race and are dangerous to other peoples. He felt that through some inherent evil, unchangeable because of their racial nature, Jews were a menace to other people, whom they sought to subjugate. He disapproved of their religious ideas, and to him even Christianity, an expression of the Semitic spirit, seemed incompatible with the teachings of the Northern Germanic peoples. He pleaded for a limitation of the Jew in the civil service, the schools, and the press. With him race is basic; he warned, therefore, that the Germans must protect themselves from intermarriage and a consequent Judaization. This monograph of Dühring, one of the most erudite yet illogical of the anti-Semitic writers, is conceived on a philosophic basis. It is the most dangerous of all anti-Semitic writings. A number of its proposals for a solution of the Jewish problem in Germany were taken over bodily by the National Socialist government a generation later.

It is thus fairly obvious that from the middle of the nineteenth century the opposition to the Jew in the modern state received an entirely new emphasis. The charge of incapacity to become an acceptable member of the Aryan state was based upon the assertion that as a Semite, he was a member of a "sinister, inferior race." There was no objection to the Jew on the ground of his religion—that would have conflicted with the ideal of tolerance which was fashionable in these circles at the time; the opposition to the Jew was founded solely upon "scientific" considerations growing out of the new disciplines of philology, anthropology, ethnology, comparative religion, and the like.

Under this new racial "science" it became the patriotic duty of every citizen to oppose the Semitic Jew in order to preserve his own Aryan heritage and to eliminate a cultural danger. It followed, of course, that true patriots ought to take action to expose this menace systematically by forming either non-political associations or political parties for this purpose. Thus the new anti-Semitism was far different from the religious hatred of the inflamed medieval mob; it became instead, a cold, reasoned, relentless drive, enlightened by "science," and patriotically motivated by the highest interests of the state and "culture." Its objective was equally definite, however: to crush and isolate economically, politically, and socially the "sinister" Jew—sinister by the inescapable quality of his own blood. To the Jew, the anti-Semitism of medieval rowdyism was by far the lesser evil compared with the later "enlightened" variety.

ANTI-SEMITIC PARTIES AND THEIR EARLY LACK OF POLITICAL SUCCESS

The Christian Socialist party of 1878 was the first modern political group to organize against the Jew. It was not, however, anti-Semitic in an exact sense, for its opposition to the Jew was based not on racial but on ethical, moral, and economic grounds. This party, like Treitschke and others, wanted to reform and to assimilate the Jews; the real anti-Semitic parties have wanted to reject and isolate them.

In order to oppose the un-Christian influences in German life, Adolf Stöcker, the court preacher, a brilliant orator, created the Christian Socialist Workers' Party in 1878. His aim was to fight the growing socialist movement by taking over the social-welfare aims of the socialists: provisions for the sick and care of widows and orphans, lower interest rates, a curb on speculation, and protection of the peasant farmers from bankers. It was his aim to bring the working masses into his party, but on a Protestant-Christian, religious, and non-materialistic basis. He wanted to eliminate what he believed to be the harmful influence of the Jews on the economic and cultural life of Germany. Jews must have no authority over Christians in a Christian state. The Jews, he insisted, were unproductive because they were not engaged in artisanry, manufacturing, or agriculture. His was a decidedly anti-Jewish if not anti-Semitic party.

The socialists, who felt that he was working in the interests of the conservatives who desired to control the aspiring working masses, rejected his approaches. Though Stöcker was elected to the Prussian *Landtag* in 1879, it was through the votes of the petty middle-class Germans. This class of citizens—not the proletarians—felt themselves threatened by the growth of capitalism which they identified with liberalism and the Jews.

The Christian Socialist Workers' Party had little success. It did not convince the proletariat for whom it was created; it attracted only discontented, small business men, artisans, romantic reactionaries, and the "lunatic fringe." There were quite a number of Germans, many of them university students, who wanted some sort of a petty-bourgeois party of a chauvinistic cast that would save the middle class from being crushed by large scale commerce and industry. They wished to save it from being proletarianized, but yet to give it the economic advantages fought for by the socialists. These Germans had this in common: they wanted social and economic reform and believed that it could in part be achieved by fighting the Jews and "Jewish" influences. By the latter they meant speculation, realism in art and literature, and liberalism in political relations. Their views found considerable acceptance, for by 1881 a huge petition was handed to Bismarck demanding rigid control of East European immigration; the removal of Jews from responsible offices, particularly in the judiciary; the limiting of the Jews in the secondary and higher schools; and the keeping of special Jewish statistics.

In the course of the next decade several anti-Jewish groups and parties developed in Germany. The Christian Socialists, as we have seen, wanted to destroy Jewish influence by assimilating the Jews more intimately into the life of the land; the other parties, truly anti-Semitic, wanted to get rid of all German Jews.

These various groups and their successors, in spite of all their internal bickering, agreed that the Jews, then a little over one per cent of the German population, were culturally, economically, and politically dangerous to the German state. All these anti-Semitic parties, and this is true of similar parties formed later, identified the Jews with the foes of social betterment and national rebirth. Common to all their programs was a desire for economic and social reform primarily through the annulment of Jewish emancipation. This, they felt, would put an end to the "pernicious Jewish influences" behind the "dangerous" liberals and the Marxian socialists. However, the cement of Jewish hatred was as yet not strong enough to bind them into a single party.

The first real anti-Semite to be elected to office (1887) was Böckel of the Anti-Semitic People's Party. From this time forward the shifting anti-Jewish and mutually hostile groups had varying political success, reaching their high water mark in 1893 and again in 1907 when they sent sixteen men to a Reichstag of 397 deputies. But even this negligible minority refused to work together for any length of time; all they effected was a constant anti-Jewish agitation. They did not succeed in enacting a single law against the Jews.

The failure of these political parties is due to the opposition of the liberals and the socialists; the latter groups fought them, realizing that back of some of the anti-Semitic deputies stood the conservative Junkers and the military class, both of which hoped to suppress liberalism and democracy by calling them "Jewish" and un-German.

The average German, even though he was not untouched by the literary propaganda of the Jew-baiters, rejected political anti-Semitism because he was disgusted with the horrible tales of the Russian pogroms (1881), the Hungarian ritual murder accusation at Tisza-Eszlar (1882), and the general spirit of rowdyism which the anti-Semites fostered. The law-abiding German deplored the mob attacks and the rise of ritual murder accusations in his own land (1891). The average German—unless he was an economic radical—believed that all Germans, irrespective of race, should unite to oppose their common enemy, the politico-economic radical, the socialist.

THEORIES OF GOBINEAU AND HOUSTON STEWART CHAMBERLAIN

The various anti-Semitic political parties and associations do not exhaust the list of phases of the movement. There was a veritable avalanche of anti-Semitic literature that contributed much to the growth of the movement over a long period of time.

The most important book of all those which appeared was Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. Chamberlain, an Englishman, migrated to Germany, where he married the daughter of Richard Wagner. His book, written in German, was destined to become the Bible of all anti-Semites up to the War. The anti-Jewish political parties drew their support largely from the lower middle-classes in the villages and hamlets. Chamberlain, however, appealed to the university groups and to the cultured classes who were flattered as well as influenced by his teachings. He taught that everything worthwhile in the history of culture and civilization had been created by the "Teutons."

His main thesis he had borrowed from the French writer, Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, who, in 1853-1855, had published in French his *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*. Gobineau insisted that race is everything, that the civilization of a group is determined by its immutable racial heritage, and that the noblest of all races is the Aryan. All creations of science, art, and culture were traced back to them. They stand out, Gobineau asserted, through their perseverance, their higher intelligence, their sense of order, their love of freedom and honor, their faculty for finding the useful, and their strong will to live. The Semites, Gobineau states, are somewhat inferior to the Aryans because of the fact that they are a cross between the blacks and the whites. It was through this mixture with the more sensual and imaginative blacks that the Jews learned some of the "vices" for which they were supposed to have been notorious in antiquity. Gobineau thought all mixture of races spelled deterioration; the worth of a people is determined by the amount of Aryan blood in it, etc.

It is ironical to reflect that Gobineau was influenced not only by Lassen but also by Disraeli who had similar ideas except that for the latter the supreme race was the Semitic race instead of the Aryan. Gobinism, ignored in France, became the vogue in Germany; in the Wagnerian circle in the 'nineties it expressed itself most forcefully through Chamberlain.

Following closely on Gobineau, Chamberlain maintained that the tall, golden-haired, giant-statured German with his elongated skull and his large, beaming, celestial eyes is the most creative of all peoples. The cultural accomplishment of any group throughout history, event in dim antiquity, was determined by the amount of German blood in its veins. If David, Solomon, or Jesus had accomplished anything it was probably because of the Germanic blood in his veins. All that is worthwhile today in Europe, whether of ancient or recent origin, is due to the Teutons with their strong capacity for genius and their fine feeling for freedom and loyalty, according to Chamberlain.

Lassen, Renan, and Gobineau were not consciously anti-Jewish; Chamberlain was. The Jews and their culture, he taught, are a menace to civilization, a destructive alien force. The Jews have never brought forth anything genuinely creative; they possess no sense of liberty, no patriotism; such virtues are alien to them because of the inexorable dominance of their Semitic blood; as a hybrid race they are selfish, narrow-minded, and intolerant; their moral law is a menace to society; in religion they have created nothing; this bastard Semitic people is dangerous because it can make men "Jews" by teaching them its own degenerative ways of thinking and feeling; the Germans are struggling to save civilization from all hybrid groups and they must let nothing stand in their way if they are to fulfill their cultural destiny—so, on and on, go the teachings of Chamberlain.

The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century is the most important anti-Semitic work of the pre-War period. Its delightful style and ostensibly scientific character gained entrée for it into cultured circles in Germany. Through the vast influence of Emperor William II, who was very much taken by the book, it was introduced into thousands of homes, and probably more than any other book of the generation influenced German thinking. Even Jews read it and some were unwittingly convinced of the superiority of the blonde Teuton; Walther Rathenau probably was. Through its English translation (1910) it spread among a host of Englishmen and Americans the theory of Germanic superiority and Semitic inferiority. If the agitation of the anti-Semitic demagogues from 1879 to 1914 convinced thousands, the writings of Chamberlain convinced hundreds of thousands.

INFLUENCE OF PRE-WAR ANTI-SEMITISM

Though the pre-War anti-Semitic movement went down to defeat in parliament at the hands of the liberals and the socialists, it met with a considerable measure of success among the administrative authorities. In Prussia and some of the other German states, Jews were kept out of the civil, diplomatic, and consular services through administrative measures. They were excluded frequently from full teaching professorships and were not accepted as members in the various students', farmers', and clerks' associations. Many resorts would admit no Jews. The borders were carefully watched to keep out East European immigrants, and naturalization of Jews became increasingly difficult. Even the liberal parties hesitated, in the face of a growing anti-Semitism, to put up Jewish candidates. Also, as early as 1892, the great Conservative party incorporated in its program the pledge to fight the "disintegrating influence" of the Jews upon German life and to insist that only Christians should teach in the public schools.

THE BREAKDOWN OF GERMAN MORALE AND THE TURN TO HITLER, 1930

Anti-Semitic sentiment as a mass movement seems to have received a temporary setback with the opening of the World War in August, 1914; the Kaiser insisted on the burial of all animosities. However, the increasing misfortunes of the Germans aroused a new wave of resentment as early as 1916 against the luckless Jews who served as a convenient scapegoat. Later the victory of the Entente forces and the ignominious peace treaty of Versailles (1919) struck a terrific blow at German pride, nurtured in the Chamberlain tradition of belief in its own superiority. The terms of the imposed peace deprived the Germans of their colonies, of their navy, of their merchant marine, and of the areas of Alsace-Lorraine, Upper Silesia, and West Prussia, all valuable sources of raw materials, iron, coal, and wheat.

Germany's resources were thus greatly limited; yet she was expected to pay huge reparations. This, in turn, required excessive taxation of a people that had already suffered overmuch and had gone hungry through a long four-years' war only to be defeated in the end. The Germans could not pay reparations, and the French, as a disciplinary measure, occupied the Ruhr industrial area. Workers in this area went on a passive strike, and the German government in order to support the laborers and recompense the owners, began to work its printing presses day and night to supply them both with money—paper money. Inflation had already set in; the mark now began to fall with a vengeance, and the German middle class was wiped out financially.

After almost two years of devastating inflation, the mark was stabilized, and the people, almost frantic by this time, enjoyed a breathing spell (1924-1928). The world depression, however, striking Germany in 1929, began to increase unemployment. The number of those out of work reached into the millions, and it was obvious that conditions would not improve. Many of the Germans were by this time convinced that democracy, in the form of their Republic, had failed. They held the allies responsible because of their demands for reparations, but they were just as bitter toward the Social Democrats (socialists), the liberals, and the Catholic Center, all of whom had failed to set up a strong and united government.

The government was weak; the army was still manned by pre-1914 reactionaries; the old civil service group had little sympathy for the new republic; the agrarian magnates were plotting for the restoration of the monarchy, and the leaders of the large industries were working to undermine a state which encouraged powerful trades-unions. According to official figures, there were already three million unemployed. The people, crushed economically and morally, were desperate. It was at this juncture, in 1930, that Adolf Hitler began to dominate the scene. In a time of great despair he offered the people an illuminating explanation for all their troubles and presented a hope of national salvation.

* * *

Who is this man Adolf Hitler? What was his attitude to the Jew? What part does anti-Semitism play in his rise to power?

CHAPTER IV

ADOLF HITLER AND NAZI ANTI-SEMITISM

ADOLF HITLER

ADOLF HITLER was born in 1889 and came of a humble, middle class Austrian family. His mother was Bohemian; his father was an Austrian, a petty official in the Austrian customs-service. Though his parents were both Catholics, Hitler himself has apparently no interest in any organized religion.

Hitler's youth was spent in a home marked by genteel poverty. The early death of his parents left him alone to shift for himself in Vienna where he had gone. He tried to make his way, but was met with frustration on every hand. Hard labor was his daily lot and he knew the pangs of incessant hunger. Little wonder then that he learned to hate Vienna and its conglomerate of peoples, its "smart" ways, and its aggressive proletarians.

He never had any intimate friends and never knew the stabilizing and stimulating influence of companionship. His reading was a patch-work of literary odds and ends. He had never borne the yoke of academic discipline and has no appreciation of critical scientific method. Hence he still has all the self-assurance of the untaught. His decisions are subjective and arbitrary. His greatest ambition in life was to be an artist, a painter, but this ambition was never realized.

He was a firm German patriot. During the War he did not fight for his own country, the hybrid Austrian state for which he harbored no great admiration. He fought instead for the more Germanic Germany. He was wounded in battle and suffered untold agonies before the War was over. Finally he was able to return to his beloved Munich. Here in 1919, he joined a handful of men to form the German Workers' Party which soon grew into the National Socialist German Workers' Party, with its definitely anti-Semitic policy and objectives.

Hitler became an anti-Semite while still a lad. He came at an early age under the influence of the anti-Semitic Christian Socialist Party of Austria and was impressed by their program which included agitation against East European Jews, the movement to limit Jews in the schools and professions, and a plea for a rigid boycott against Jews.

We see then that Hitler has been a confirmed and rabid anti-Semite practically all of his life. What fact or incident or perhaps what psychological quirk was responsible for this long-enduring and violent hatred, nobody knows. It is questionable whether Hitler himself really understands the impulses that have moved him consciously or unconsciously. It is therefore doubly difficult for any one else to peer into the soul of this strange person whom the exigencies of German life have elevated to such tremendous rank and power. It is easier to understand his works and ideas than to understand the man.

Despite his lack of academic training, Hitler was a great orator and developed a remarkable power for mass leadership. Feeling the need for an aggressive body of supporters, he organized his followers (1921) along military fascistic lines in imitation of the Black Shirts of Mussolini. His rigidly disciplined, brown-shirt Storm Troopers and his Élite Troops (*Schutzstaffel*) soon constituted a considerable civilian army made up of militant youths of the post-War generation who were utterly devoted to him.

His party moved forward very slowly. At first its field of influence was limited largely to Bavaria. In Protestant North Germany his anti-Semitic program had to compete with those of the old "German" Socialists (*Deutschsoziale Partei*), the new (1922) non-socialistic German Folk Party of Freedom, and the German Nationalist Party which had succeeded the pre-War Conservatives. The 1923 Beer-hall *Putsch* of Hitler to overthrow the Bavarian Republic failed ingloriously; Hitler was imprisoned. It was during this imprisonment that he wrote *My Battle*. His followers had in the meanwhile joined with the German Folk Party of Freedom and all three parties together sent thirty-six delegates to the Reichstag of May, 1924, out of a total of 472 delegates. This was a considerable advance over 1879 when Stöcker, the first avowed enemy of the Jews, entered the *Landtag*. The improved economic conditions of 1924-1928, however, reduced the anti-Semitic representation in the Reichstag to fourteen in December, 1924. It required the world depression to lend new strength and vigor to the movement and finally to carry it into power.

THE RACIAL SCIENCE OF HANS F. K. GÜNTHER

The advance of Hitler and his N.S.D.A.P. up to 1924 and his great successes in 1930 are in no small measure the result of the growing German racial chauvinism and of the accompanying anti-Jewish sentiment which he knew how to exploit. Throughout the miserable fourteen years after the end of the World War, the political anti-Semites (represented solely by the Nazis since 1925) drummed the idea incessantly into the minds and hearts of the crestfallen Germans that they were not a defeated people, but a great, unconquered and unconquerable nation with a glorious future. The glorification of Germany and of the German citizen was the theme of a host of writers and pamphleteers.

Of these, none was more widely read and appreciated than the racial "scientist," Hans F. K. Günther. His *Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volkes* (Racial Science of the German People) evidences wide reading and makes pretense to scientific impartiality. Günther is incompetent in the field of anthropology, however, and vitiates his whole work by a subdued, insidious anti-Semitism cleverly furthered by judicious quotation of notorious anti-Semitic writings and by the subtle use of photographs designed to stimulate racial prejudice. Günther believes that the present German nation is a conglomerate of races among which the Nordic race is but a minor element. It is this Nordic race, however, that is responsible not only for German achievement but for all that is worthwhile in the culture of the present and the past.

Gobineau ascribed genius to the Aryan "Germans" by which he meant the French primarily. The "Germans" whom Chamberlain, in turn, glorified are a rather vague Aryan group that manifested itself as a cultural force not only in Germany but in all Europe. Günther, fitting his notions into current anthropological schemes and employing their terminology, ascribes all the virtues of Gobineau's and Chamberlain's "Germans" to the "Nordics." All genius is derived from them; whatever is Nordic is noble, magnificent, heroic, inventive, politically gifted, physically clean, etc. This is the only race that can produce great statesmen and military leaders. If Germany, itself a hodge-podge of races, is to save itself and Western civilization, it must Nordicize (*Aufnordung*) itself through eugenic measures and through selective marriage. The Nordic type must become dominant in Germany, asserts Günther.

The Jews, Günther continues, like the German people of today, are a mixture of races. But as a conglomerate they are quite distinct from others. They are physically different—in their speech, mannerisms, posture, susceptibility to sickness, and even by virtue of their "faint-sweet" racial odor, which he first detected in a kosher restaurant.

Günther's unusual ability to detect the Jewish racial odor is excelled only by that of French physicians who served their country during the stormy days of the World War. The French scholar, Dr. Bérillon, informs us that when French physicians treated wounded Germans in the French military hospitals they were able, because of a characteristic, unpleasant odor, to detect the presence of even a single German in the entire hospital. (*Gazette Médicale de Paris,* Nr. 267, June 24, 1915.)

Psychologically the Jews are different, according to Günther. Although originally a racial composite, they have in the course of time again become a race secondarily. This racial consciousness has impregnated them with a strong awareness of their own type, a strong sense of "sticking-together." It has also burdened them with a strong conviction of their own inferiority due to their consciousness of their mixed racial origin. A pure race would not have this sense of inferiority, argues Günther.

The Jews have a special capacity, he tells us, to "feel their way" into other cultures and gain influence over them; this is particularly true in Germany, for the otherwise heroic Nordic has the unfortunate faculty of submitting lightly to foreign cultural domination. The Jews do not "belong" in Europe; they are not inferior, just "different"; they are primarily "Near-Asiatics" and hence, according to Günther and Professor Lenz, are concerned more with the exploitation of men than of nature. The people, we are told, are aware that the Jews, through the economic and political power that they have acquired, have the means to influence the cultural life of the occidental nations and they instinctively resent this threat to their own distinctive racial and cultural aspirations.

The national solution, Günther suggests, is to separate the Jews by allowing them a national home of their own. Other writers have insisted, in a more drastic fashion, that Germany save itself racially by expelling its non-Aryans, the Jews. This new approach to the Jew is being taught not only by Günther but, in modified form, by some of the most eminent anthropologists in Germany, a number of whom are men of international repute.

POST-WAR ANTI-SEMITISM

This racial philosophy is in part a result of, and in part a cause of, an intense folk-pride and national chauvinism. It is this philosophy that has filled the Germans with a profound belief in their destiny as a chosen race and with an unshakable conviction that, as Germans, they have a great future in European politics and culture.

If this is their destiny, why is it, then, that they are hedged in on all sides by enemies and forced into an inferior position among the nations? The answer of the Nazis is that they lost the War, not because of their inferiority on the field of battle, but because they were "stabbed in the back" by the democratic, liberal forces at home, particularly the socialists. Since, according to Nazi logic, it is patent that these liberals, socialists, and Marxists are inspired and controlled by the Jews, it becomes clear that it is the Jews who, in the last analysis, are responsible for the German defeat. Hence they must be crushed and prevented from exercising any further influence. Once they are removed and the country is united along racial lines, Germany will present a solid front against the enemy abroad, the French and the Pole. Only then will Germany begin to realize its political and cultural destiny. In this fashion do the National Socialists use the bogey of their own creation to their political advantage.

Needless to say, the Nazis have completely repudiated the post-War Republic. The fourteen years of the Republic were, they contend, years of Jewish misrule in which the Jews controlled and corrupted the political, economic, and cultural life of the land. What the Jews themselves did not accomplish in this direction "Jewish" ideas accomplished. The definition of what constitutes a "Jewish" idea or influence is amazingly simple. The Nazi simply denounces as "Jewish" anything he dislikes even if it has not the remotest connection with Jews or Judaism. In this fashion, we find attacked as "Jewish" the following forces for "decomposition" in German life: pacifism, atheism, political liberalism, modernized spelling, jazz, mickey-mouse souvenirs, companionate marriage, the theory of relativity, experimental progressive schools, birth control, nudism, the yellow press, the emancipation of women, Emil Ludwig's biographies, expressionism in art, agitation against the death penalty, and flat houseroofs (oriental).

"The Jews," says Goebbels, German Minister of National Enlightenment and Propaganda, "were absolute and unlimited masters of the press, literature, the theater, and the motion pictures, and in large cities such as Berlin, 75 per cent of the members of the medical and legal professions are Jews; . . . they made public opinion, exercised a decisive influence on the Stock Exchange, and were the rulers of Parliament and its parties." (*The New York Times,* Sept. 29, 1933.)

The press, the films, and the theater encourage criminality and all the sensuous vices. The proof of Jewish criminality is seen in the fact that the "entire thieves' lingo is of Hebrew origin." The Jews, we are told, through their method of hypercriticism and sensationalism, were deliberately and maliciously undermining the moral bases of the German people, so as to render them incapable of remaining a fighting people. The Jews are the ones who have created a democratic public opinion and who have taught pacifism and internationalism. It is the Jewish doctors who have betrayed Germany through the encouragement of abortions and birth control. The Jews are uncreative, intolerant, and, above all, materialistic. This materialism is a racial trait and expresses itself not only in business but also in religious life. Judaism is a a philosophy of the acquisition of wealth and power. The whole Jewish law as reflected in Talmud and *Shulhan Aruk* is vicious, anti-social, and anti-Christian, and so on, *ad infinitum.*

For a whole generation these ideas were constantly drummed into the minds of a simple people by a skillful, inflammatory press. There was no accusation, no matter how cruel or unjust, that was not hurled at the Jews. One of the interesting parallels in history to this systematic attempt to saddle a people with the responsibility for all the major ills of society is the pagan attack on early Christianity. Tertullian (d.ca.230) says: "they (the Roman pagans) are offering as the justification of their enmity the baseless plea that they think the Christians the cause of every public disaster, of every affliction with which the people are visited. If the Tiber rises as high as the city walls, if the Nile does not send its waters up over the fields, if the heavens give no rain, if there is an earthquake, if there is a famine or pestilence, straightway the cry is, 'Away with the Christians to the lion!'" (*Apology, XL.*)

ANTI-CHRISTIAN ANTI-SEMITISM

This agitation has encouraged many "German Christians" to attempt to remove the Jewish elements from Christianity. Some want no Jews accepted into the Christian fold; others, going further, would reject Jesus and the apostles, and all they stood for, because they were Jews. They wish to see the rebirth of some type of old Norse paganism which is truly Germanic. An important literary document in this agitation is *Die Grosse Täuschung* (The Great Delusion), by Friedrich Delitzsch (1920). The ancient Israelites, says this noted Assyriologist, were a morally inferior horde of robbers and murderers. The Jewish God—the greatest delusion of all—is a tribal idol. There is nothing new and creative in the Old Testament. The Christians do not need it; on the contrary, its Jewish teachings are a menace to the nation. Such writings contribute to this aspect of the Nazi panorama which begins probably with Dühring.

"THE INTERNATIONAL JEWISH CONSPIRACY"

Another very important accusation brought against the Jew refers to the supposed international Jewish conspiracy. According to this, the Jews are not merely the leaders of the socialists and the communists but also control the world's supply of money and capital. Both communist leaders and international bankers, all Jews, are working to ruin Germany and the world. The Jews caused the World War, the Russian revolution in 1917, and the German Revolution in 1918—the last one—when they "stabbed in the back" the victorious, undefeated German troops. They dominated the foreign press which agitated against Germany and they incited Italy and the United States to take up arms against that land. They befriended and then deceived the Kaiser. They preached defeatism; they were slackers and profiteers. They are prepared, if necessary, to mine the subways and to blow up the great cities of the world and their non-Jewish inhabitants.

Proof of most of these fantastic diabolic activities of the Jews is offered in the various editions of the *Secrets of the Wise Men of Zion,* a "blood and thunder" concoction which has been accepted literally not only by the Nazis but by millions of reactionaries the world over. The mere fact that this work has been proven to be the creation of unscrupulous agents and has been wholly repudiated by all outstanding Christian lay and church leaders is of little significance to those whose purpose it serves. Undoubtedly, however, to a Nazi this repudiation is merely further proof of the power of the international Jewish conspiracy to dupe the world.

THE REACTION OF THE GERMAN MASSES TO THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM

The anti-Semitic accusations which have been described above are accepted at their face value not merely by the many members of the N.S.D.A.P. but by thousands of Germans who have no relation to the party. The explanation of the defeat in 1918 as an international Jewish machination was so flattering to injured German pride that it received wide acceptance.

Did Hitler and his immediate aides—some of them very able men—believe these wild accusations? Hitler very probably did; it is difficult to say to what extent his immediate co-workers did. In the last analysis it is immaterial what the leaders believed; the masses gobbled up these tales without the slightest manifestation of doubt, and they still continue to do so. It was certainly good propaganda to gain votes from a desperate and unemployed people to offer them a weak and defenseless (despite the International Conspiracy!) scapegoat for all their ills. They took courage because the N. S. D. A. P. not only salvaged their self-respect and explained the cause of all their distress, but also gave them a definite, fascinating program of action. By joining Hitler's party they could help themselves regain prosperity, restore the old German glory, and save Germany and the world from this "sinister" international influence that threatens the economic, cultural, and political life of every civilized nation. It was this call to salvage civilization that in no small measure appealed to the emotional, mystical nature of the sentimental German.

THE OFFICIAL PROGRAM OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

The actual program of the National Socialist Party, adopted February 25, 1920, contains twenty-five points, seven of which concern themselves more or less directly with the Jews. Article four declared that a Jew, by virtue of his blood, could not become a member of the nation; article five states that non-citizens (Jews) are only to be "guests" of Germany living under a special code; article six prescribes that they are to fill no public office; article seven demands the expulsion of (Jewish) aliens in periods of unemployment; article eight proposes the expulsion of the East European Jews who had entered the land since August 2, 1914. Article twenty-three demands the elimination of the Jews from the public press; article twenty-four binds the party to Christianity and to a battle against the "Jewish materialistic spirit."

These Jewish paragraphs of the program, with their wide appeal to the masses, were augmented by a very attractive program of social reform and economic rehabilitation. This program offers a broad, liberal, and socialistic platform of public welfare; it promises industrial growth and prosperity; it pledges itself to a policy of political expansion and pleads for a moral, mystical regeneration in opposition to what it calls the superficial, critical, rational, godless philosophy of the liberals and socialists.

HITLER COMES TO POWER MARCH 5, 1933

We have already indicated that from 1924-1928, as a result of a slight improvement in the economic condition of the German people, Hitler's popularity waned temporarily. In 1929, however, with the first intimation of the world financial crisis, the party began to make progress again.

Many city-proletarians who were strongly nationalistic or anti-Marxian joined their ranks; the middle-class petty-traders and officials, ruined by the War and inflation, overshadowed by big business, wanted more economic opportunities. Many peasants threw in their lot with Hitler, demanding protective tariffs. The agrarian lords, if they did not sympathize with him, were at least at one with him in their hostility to the Republic. The industrialists, in part at least, supported him financially, hoping to use him to crush the labor unions which had so successfully fought for the economic rights of the working classes. The industrialists had no objection if the Jews were thrown as a sop to the mob; they probably did not expect the excesses to culminate in violence and civil disabilities.

The students, Hitler's most fervent supporters, were naturally idealistic and looked upon the Hitler movement as a spiritual crusade. It may perhaps be added that the students were also conscious of the fact that there were annually between 24,000 and 26,000 graduates and only 10,000 to 12,000 jobs. The fact that they wanted those jobs may or may not have added to their zeal. This preponderance of youth in the Nazi leadership is witnessed by the fact that seventy-two of the 107 Nazi representatives elected to the Reichstag in 1930 were under forty years of age; nine of them were in their twenties.

Thus, the Nazi's rise to power was relatively rapid after 1929. In May, 1928, they polled 810,100 votes. On September 14, 1930, the Nazis polled 6,409,600 votes and elected 107 delegates to a Reichstag of 577 members. Their achievement of the position of second largest party in the country was accompanied by anti-Jewish demonstrations and violence in Berlin and was soon followed by the abolition of *Shehitah* ("ritual slaughtering") in Bavaria.

In Thuringia, where Dr. Wilhelm Frick, the first Nazi to receive a cabinet post in a German state, had been appointed Minister of the Interior and of Education (1930), a daily morning prayer of hate was introduced into the public schools beseeching the "Father in Heaven . . . to punish our nation's traitors, and bless the deed that brings us liberty." In this same province, Hans F. K. Günther, author of the ostensibly fair but studiously provocative *Racial Science of the Jewish People,* was appointed professor of racial science.

In September, 1931, as the Berlin Jews came out of their synagogues on *Rosh Ha-Shanah,* they were assulted by the Nazis in an organized attack. One hundred and thirteen Jews were injured. Exuberant Nazi youth continued to mark up lavatories with a combination of obscene and anti-Jewish remarks. This was but one manifestation of the type of excess which became increasingly frequent. By September, 1932, fifty synagogues and 128 Jewish cemeteries had been polluted and desecrated.

In May, 1932, Brüning, the last of the republican Premiers, was forced out by a conspiracy of anti-republican aristocrats with monarchist leanings under the leadership of Lt. Colonel Franz von Papen. They established a veiled dictatorship with the aid of the sympathetic and vacillating von Hindenburg. The growing anti-Jewish sentiment was evidenced in the Prussian Diet (June, 1932) where the Nazis forced through a resolution—which was not implemented—calling for the confiscation of the property of the East European Jews who had entered the country since August, 1914.

From June 1, 1932, there was a series of elections, changing cabinets, and political intrigues, until finally, on January 30, 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor. The agrarian and industrial magnates who had induced the aged von Hindenburg to appoint Hitler, hoped to use the young chancellor for their own purposes. They made a mistake, however, in their calculations, particularly so when they gave the Nazis control of the Prussian semi-militarized police force.

New elections were set for March 5, 1933. The Nazis now appealed to the masses to help save the land from communism. When the Reichstag buildings were mysteriously fired on the night of the twenty-seventh of February, Hitler, under the pretext of quelling a communist uprising, induced the bewildered von Hindenburg to impose a censorship on the press and to order the suppression of all socialist and communist gatherings.

This fateful decree of President von Hindenburg, dated February 28, 1933, also abolished, for the time being, all rights of personal liberty, free speech, secrecy of communication, and assembly. This was practically martial law. This February order and the ensuing Nazi terrorism made it difficult for the opposing forces to campaign freely, particularly since the Nazis also controlled the government-owned radio. In the elections of March 5, the National Socialists won 288 seats out of a total of 647. This total, with the aid of the fifty-two seats of the German Nationalist Party, gave the Nazis a majority, which they immediately employed to confer dictatorial authority on Adolf Hitler for a period of four years.

HITLER CARRIES OUT A CAMPAIGN PROMISE

The long-promised National Revolution now took place. Hitler assumed complete power, dissolved all other parties and set to work to carry out his campaign promises. He had vehemently asserted to the electorate that he would do away with unemployment, that he would further the social welfare of the workers and the middle-class. He had pledged himself to help the farmers and the peasants, to expand Germany's boundaries, and to secure for her again a place in the sun. All this was difficult of accomplishment. But he had also given his word that "Jewish heads would fall when he came into power." This was easy and convenient. The Jews were a minority, outnumbered more than a hundred to one, completely at the mercy of an autocratic government. It was inevitable, therefore, that the first legislative acts of the new government should be directed against the Jews. The Aryan Paragraph of April 7, 1933, in the decree for the restoration of the civil service marked the beginning of the process of reducing the Jew to the status of a second class citizen. The remaining steps which were taken have already been described.

Whatever may yet be the fate of Hitler's other promises to the people remains to be seen. With respect to the Jews at least, the masses can have no complaint: Hitler has fulfilled this campaign promise most scrupulously.

* * *

It is quite obvious that one of the basic motivations of Nazi discrimination against the Jew is a radical concept of the importance of race. To what extent is this concept scientifically valid? Is the Nordic race superior? Is there such a thing as a Semitic race? Are Jews racially inferior? Is there a racial justification for anti-Semitism?

CHAPTER V

NORDICISM: ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE

IS THERE A GERMAN RACE?

A HOST of German writers since the 'seventies have insisted on the potential and actual cultural superiority of the Germans, because of their race. This thesis, popularized among millions of Germans by Chamberlain, has now been modified by the post-War German racists. The latter, although they insist that culture derives from racial origins, realize, nevertheless, that there is no *German* race and never has been. The new school of German racial scientists admits that present day Germany is itself an alloy of at least a half-dozen historic and pre-historic races.

THE NORDICS AND THEIR PHYSICAL TRAITS

We are told, however, that there is one race in this present day German conglomerate that is responsible for German superiority: the Nordic. Who are these Nordics who are responsible for our great cultural achievements? They are the same as Chamberlain's blue-eyed, blonde-headed, long-skulled (dolichocephalic) peoples, and their true home, roughly speaking, is the basin of the North and Baltic Seas.

To be sure, not many Germans are Nordics. Günther, the outstanding present-day protagonist of this school of racial science in Germany, estimates that, at the most, 60 per cent of all Germans have Nordic blood, but that only 10 per cent are *pure* Nordics. The number is probably much lower. That these figures are very suspect is evidenced by the fact that among the North Sea Island Frisians, the most Nordic of the Germans, Waldenburg (1903) found 87.7 per cent to be *round-headed* (brachycephalic). And it is by no means improbable that many of the present-day blondes of North Germany are descended not only from Teutons, but also from early Slavs who were blue-eyed, blonde-haired, and long-headed. These Slavs in turn are probably descended from Finns who were of a light-pigmented Mongoloid type.

Franz Boas, taking the cephalic indices of American Jews of various generations, found that even this so-called inherent racial characteristic was subject to environmental influence. The result indicated a gradual change from the round-headed type of the foreign immigrant to the long-headed type of the immigrant's native-born children and descendants. In other words, exposed to the influences of another environment—and in environment we include such factors as diet, tempo of life, and climate—the individual tends to approximate the average (the anthropological norm) of the new environment.

There is, as a matter of fact, no country or area where majority groups may be found with uniformly the same physical traits. Only 31.8 per cent of German children are blondes, and these grow darker with age. The Nordics are found all over Europe. There is no specific Nordic people, only a Nordic racial type, and it is present among all peoples, even among Jews. It has been estimated that about 10 per cent of European Jewry is pure Nordic; in Germany examination of about 75,000 Jewish children showed that 32 per cent had light hair and 46 per cent had light eyes (Hertz, p. 134).

THE QUESTION OF INHERENT INTELLECTUAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RACES

Having found that there are not even any uniform physical traits among the members of any racial group, we must realize how uncertain is the quest for uniform, intellectual characteristics. Such characteristics, common to a racial group, have never been demonstrated scientifically. America, the home of so many different racial groups, was thought to provide a fine experimental field for the investigation of this interesting problem, and accordingly many studies of this nature have been made here.

The pioneer investigation was conducted by Brigham among the drafted and enlisted men in the United States army at the entrance of the United States into the World War. On the basis of tests administered to several million men, Brigham thought he had discovered inherent racial differences in intelligence, for the Nordic races ranked consistently highest of all, and the Russians, Italians, and Poles brought up the rear. The factor which Brigham overlooked and which led him subsequently to retract his original conclusion completely was selective migration. It is a logical assumption that men who came to the United States because of intellectual persecution—whether political or religious—were of a higher calibre than those who came because they were attracted by the high wages which were paid for unskilled labor during our era of expansion. Brigham realized, as did all other psychologists with him, that the differences which he found were much more apt to be the result of selective migration than of inherent racial characteristics.

The growing belief among anthropologists that inherent racial characteristics were something of an unknown quantity was confirmed by the study which Otto Klineberg made in 1927-1929 of the psychological differences between racial and national groups in Europe. For racial types he tested German Nordics, French Mediterraneans, German Alpines, Italian Alpines, French Alpines, French Nordics, and Italian Mediterraneans; for national types he tested boys from Paris, Hamburg, and Rome. In the conclusion most germane to our purpose, he states: "The differences between the three 'racial' groups are small and unreliable, and there are significant differences between different samples of the same 'race' which makes it impossible to attach any significance to the concept of 'race' in connection with these differences."

Addressing herself to much the same problem, Rose Franzblau (1932) studied Nordics and Mediterraneans in the United States and in their home countries. Using non-language tests developed by Brigham and Dodd for international use and testing people of the same social stratum in both Denmark (Nordic) and Italy (Mediterraneans), she found that there were practically no differences between Danes and Italians of the same social class. This tends to support the theory that selective migration rather than inherent racial diversities is responsible for differences that may exist in this country between Danes and Italians.

In some other studies made in the United States by various researchers, the Jews have always ranked highest in intelligence, with the Chinese and Japanese following close behind, and the Nordics, Mediterraneans, Slavs, and Negroes, in order, completing the list. However, there are so many uncontrolled physical, economic, and social factors at work in the adjustment of the various groups to the American environment that no reputable psychologist accepts these found differences as indicative of any inherent racial factors. In fact, the trend among psychologists and anthropologists today is definitely to deny the existence of inherent race differences and to attribute found inequalities solely to environmental factors. The various racial groups overlap so largely in mental traits that the differences found between the groups are much less pronounced than the differences found within any one group.

Diverse racial groups like the Germans and the Japanese, for instance, will make relatively the same progress if given the same conditions for advancement. They have consistenly done so here. We know from our own experience that individuals of different races have succeeded admirably in adapting themselves to our cultural and social *milieu* and have made outstanding academic contributions, despite their varying social backgrounds. If the Europeans as a group are today more advanced than the Chinese, for example, it is because of physical environment, religion, education, and other social, economic, and historic forces. Change these forces and the group responds in an entirely different manner—witness the modern Japanese.

THE THEORY OF ARYAN OR NORDIC SUPERIORITY

Contrary to all of the foregoing, however, the present German government contends, following Chamberlain and Günther and above all Gobineau, that there *are* vital differences of an essential nature between the races, the "White" race being supreme in creative, cultural capacity and the "Aryans," "Germans," or "Nordics" among the white race transcending all others.

Let us first examine the fundamental assertion that there exists an "Aryan" race. The majority of present-day anthropologists, of course, question or deny this assumption. There are Aryan languages but there is no Aryan race. People who speak dialects of an Aryan character are by no means of uniform racial stock—they are usually diverse anthropologically. In spite of the official use today in Germany of the terms Aryan and non-Aryan, even Günther points out that there is no such thing as an Aryan race and that the word Aryan is merely a linguistic term.

Waldemar Kaempffert tells us, in his own fashion, who the Aryan is:

> "It turns out that the elusive Aryan is now Asiatic and now European. He is roundheaded and longheaded. He is blond and he is brunette. He is a Celt, a Scandinavian, a German, a Slav, a dark African. His language was primitive Sanskrit, archaic Greek, Finnish, early Lithuanian. In a word, he is as nebulous as Mrs. Harris. Whole libraries have been written about him but no one can draw a picture of him that is even remotely as accurate as the construction that have been made of the Neanderthal man from skeletons. Anthropology and ethnology repudiate him. There ought to be a cenotaph in the Potsdamerplatz, eminently suitable because of its traffic, and somewhere on the cenotaph an inscription: 'To the Unknown Aryan.'" (*The New York Times,* June 25, 1933.)

Secondly, if the Nordic stock is superior, this superiority should have demonstrated itself amply in history. What, then, have the Nordic races accomplished? What have the blonde, longheaded peoples of Northern Europe, the Frisians, the Pomeranians, the Mecklenburgers, the Danes, the Swedes, etc., accomplished for the furtherance of European civilization? (It should be mentioned that the Scandinavians make no extravagant claims for themselves.)

Unfortunately for the protagonists of this theory, the accomplishments of the Nordics have been few indeed compared to the contributions of the central and southern Germans and of the central, western, and southern Europeans. Realizing this fact, that the Nordic masses have cut no great figure in world history, the more zealous of the protagonists of the Nordic theory now assert that it is the individual Nordic genius, rather than the Nordic peoples as a whole, who has given civilization its impetus.

But even Günther, cataloguing these individual Nordic geniuses in his *Racial Science of the German People,* knows of very few pure Nordics who have distinguished themselves. He himself admits that many of the men he catalogs are mixed types racially. Among the Nordic hybrids, he lists Schopenhauer, Luther, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Helmholtz, Beethoven, and others. A more complete roster of German notables of racially composite type—described for the most part in his own book—includes Frederick the Great, Melanchthon, Leibnitz, Kant, Goethe, Schiller, Dürer, Bismarck, Nietzsche, Bach, Gluck, Haydn, Wagner, Bruckner, and many other famous German musicians. Nearly all of the great Germans, almost without exception, have been racial cross-breeds.

These incontrovertible facts do not discourage the racists. They answer merely that genius derives from the basic Nordic element even when it is co-mingled with other stock in the same individual. It is the presence of Nordic blood in the veins of the genius, even though it be but a few drops, which accounts for his superiority.

This answer is as intriguing as it is fantastic. We know that all races are composite. How, then, can one isolate this elusive bit of Nordicism—this chromosome which is responsible for the exclusively (so we are told) Nordic qualities of political, military, and scientific leadership and which confers the virtues of character, loyalty, truth, and vision? No one has yet been able to demonstrate scientifically that it is the drop of Nordic blood rather than the drop of Alpine or Mediterranean, or the combination of all three that makes for genius.

Even the racists realize that a man may have all of the physical traits of a Nordic without any of the supposed moral characteristics and *vice versa.* It is interesting to inquire how the German racial eugenists propose to separate the blondes who have Nordic souls from those who have inferior souls. If they cannot succeed in setting up adequate criteria for this purpose, the creation of Race Bureaus to Nordicize the German people and to produce a superior race by merely mating blonde Nordics seems a rather futile task. There can be no guaranty that the offspring will have the desired Nordic virtues; even certainty as to Nordic physical characteristics is questionable.

CROSS-BREEDING AND CULTURE IN WORLD HISTORY

An even greater difficulty arises in connection with the theories of the racists as to cross-breeding. After admitting that many great Germans were cross-breeds and claiming that even a small amount of Nordic blood is sufficient to account for manifestation of genius, they go on to assert that cross-breeding is synonymous with degradation. Racial admixture, they claim, brings with it a breakdown in cultural capacity. Whatever advances have been made by society are due to purity of race. Pure races are, *ipso facto,* superior, and mixed races, inferior. This supplies the motivation for the entire movement toward Nordicization, and for the suppression of all non-Aryan groups.

The untenability of the Gobinesque statement that cross-breeding is bad is amply demonstrated by modern anthropological research and by the facts of history. That cross-breeds are by no means sterile or inferior in type has been scientifically demonstrated by the studies of Eugen Fischer, Rector of the University of Berlin in 1933, himself a racial scientist with little sympathy for the Jews. His was a study of blacks (Hottentots) and whites (Boers), and he demonstrated through specific study of these two very diverse groups that racial crosses were by no means inferior to the parent races; the crossing of good stocks produces good stocks. It is known, too, that the Chinese-White crosses in Singapore have produced a physically and mentally alert group. Crosses between Lapps and Norwegians, and Indians and Whites, here in the United States, have served to disabuse us of our popular prejudice against half-breeds. As a matter of fact a dab of Indian blood is now considered "high-toned" by our republican aristocrats.

If anthropology has taught us not to view racial crosses with misgivings, history has demonstrated even more decisively that mixed races, or better, races in the area of fusion have been the greatest creators of cultural values. Our oldest civilizations began in the East, in the Mesopotamian and Nile River Valleys. Both these areas were, in historic times at least, inhabited by peoples of composite racial stock; there is no proof of the presence of any Nordic elements among them. The Aegean culture, Greece with its Periclean Age, Imperial Rome—these great nurseries and depositories of artistic creation and philosophic thought —owe relatively little to northern stocks. Christianity itself is a spiritual product of the Aramaic and Greek-speaking Armenoids, Hamitics, and Orientals. The Crusades, extending over a period of at least two centuries, carried Asiatic and North African culture to the West again.

During the Middle Ages, the two leading cultural groups were the Spanish Moslems in the West—a potpourri of everything from Negroes to blonde Slavs from the wilds of eastern Europe—and the Byzantine Greeks in the East, straddling the Hellespont between Europe and Asia with their jumble of peoples. European civilization, rooted in the Mediterranean basin, is a blend of South European and Asiatic elements. The Renaissance, its modern resurgence, was built on a fusion of the most diverse racial stocks. Europe, culturally, is the product of innumerable peoples so intimately interlaced that it is impossible to disengage the several groups to determine their specific contributions to its intellectual life.

The most highly centralized and organized states of the late Middle Ages were the French and English states, created by peoples of hybrid descent. The poorest, most loosely organized state, was the unwieldy Germanic Holy Roman Empire. The first large organized German state was not welded together till 1871. The boast of a Nordic genius for political and military leadership finds little support in Teutonic history.

We see, thus, that there is no indication whatever that race-crossings are detrimental to the advance of civilization. On the contrary, all the evidence seems to indicate that it is in just such areas where diverse peoples meet and mingle that civilization moves onward most rapidly. Culture has never been localized in any particular area where only a single racial group perseveres in its purity.

It is the resultant of diverse environmental and historical factors, and the areas in which it has developed from one level to another have shifted constantly from century to century and from land to land. More often than not it has drawn upon Mediterranean and Asiatic sources. As far as we know, it has been social organization and physical background which have made for civilization, rather than "blood." Europe has certainly not suffered from its admixtures of diverse racial elements. The whole situation can be aptly summarized in the words of the very cautious Hankins: "It can be stated with comparative safety that the world's geniuses have been with rare exception cross-bred, in areas of race mixture" (p. 373).

CROSS-BREEDING AND CULTURE IN GERMAN HISTORY

The same argument applies to Germany itself. The Germans of modern days have become a great cultured nation and a civilizing influence not because of their Nordic stock but largely because of geographic and historic conditions. Like all other peoples, the racial amalgam that is today Germany borrowed heavily from all previous social orders and civilizations and showed a lusty ability for assimilation, the very trait that is found so objectionable in the Jews. Its typical culture reveals itself most distinctively in central and south Germany where there was a fusion of at least the Nordic and Alpine strains. The Franconian, Suabian, and Thuringian lands—where German culture first manifested itself—are not areas of Nordic types.

"Baltic stocks," says Professor F. H. Giddings, "have displayed conquering energy and dominating will, but their culture has been derivative. Wherever they have gone they have mingled with populations of predominantly Mediterranean characteristics and have assimilated a Mediterranean culture . . . . the predominant part which composite populations so originating have played in history . . . . can be accounted for only as an exploitation of Mediterranean culture by Baltic energy civilized by Mediterranean culture." (Quoted in Hankins, p. 351.)

CAN GERMANY NORDICIZE ITSELF?

The present Hitlerite leaders now realize that the theory of Nordic superiority is not only scientifically untenable, but—if consistently applied—subversive to their own goals. If they actually intend to Nordicize Germany, as Dr. Walter Darré, the present Minister of Agriculture, and many others have proposed, they will have to divide the German people along caste lines in order to prevent the association and intermarriage of inferior with superior racial types.

Such an organization was already envisaged as early as 1905 by J. L. Reimer in his fantastic *Ein Pangermanisches Deutschland,* in which he proposed dividing the European peoples—to be conquered by Germany—into three groups: a ruling class of pure-blooded, long-headed blondes, a half-caste group with restricted privileges, and a non-Germanic group. This last group would be sterilized or forbidden to reproduce and deprived of political rights in order to guarantee the safety of the state and of civilization. To insure the growth of the truly Germanic breed, Reimer would introduce polygyny.

The present National Socialist government is too shrewd, in spite of its racial commitments, to lend itself to such extravaganzas. It wants no Brahmanic caste-system in which even the shadow of a low caste Hindu is a pollution. It knows that any attempt toward racial eugenics along purely Nordic lines would disrupt present day Germany with its half-dozen racial strains. Nordicization, if it were literally true to itself, would mean the exclusion from the German state of the following non-Nordic types: the late Paul von Hindenburg; Streicher, the rabid anti-Semitic Nuremberg journalist; Ley, the head of the National Socialist Labor Front; Goebbels, Minister of National Enlightenment and Propaganda; and finally, Hitler, himself. Here is a racial analysis of Hitler made in 1929 by the racial-hygienist, Professor von Gruber, then President of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and a member of the racially-minded Pan-American Association:

> "For the first time I saw Hitler at close range. Face and head of poor race, mongrel, low slanting forehead, ugly nose, broad cheek bones, small eyes, dark hair. A short brushlike mustache, no broader than the nose, gives the face a defiant touch. The facial expression is not that of a man who has complete control of himself but of one who is aroused to frenzy. Repeated twitching of the facial muscles. When through, expression of contented self-reliance." (*Essener Volkswacht,* Nov. 9, 1929.)

THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL MENACE OF THE STATE FOUNDED ON RACE

The racist's teaching that each race or people has its own moral standard, some races being morally good and others doomed to be bad, works against international peace and will always make for bad blood in the family of nations. If allegedly superior racial groups are given free play, government in a racially composite state is impossible. Democracy, the rule of the people, must give way to the rule of a high-born caste. If divergent racial instincts are postulated then there can be no exchange of cultural values between nations that "instinctively" find a "psychic discrepancy," i. e., some sort of an impediment to mutual understanding. The emphasis on race is subversive to all political organization as well as to cultural advance.

THE NORDIC THEORY AND THE JEW

Since this theory has been fraught with so many consequences to the Jew, let us examine the basic ideas upon which the anti-Semitic structure has been reared.

The realization that present day Germany is an indistinguishable mixture of Nordics, Cro-Magnons, East-Baltics, Mongoloids, Falians, Alpines, and Dinarics prevents the racists from objecting to the Jew as inferior because he is the result of racial mixture. Some grounds must, however, be found—hence they divide the population into two classes, Jews and non-Jews. The non-Jews, embracing all present day Germans, constitute, if not a definite racial group, at least a "community of blood" or a consanguinity. The Jews, being "different," fall outside of this consanguinity and hence, by definition, are an alien, non-assimilable, un-German, and anti-German group. It now becomes logical to set them apart from the mass of Germans and to take drastic steps to prevent any contact between them and Germany. This is necessary for the preservation of "civilization."

To support the contention, it is asserted that the Jews are essentially "near-Asiatics" or Armenoids. The Armenoid breed is characterized supposedly by its shrewd exploitatory nature, using ideas and goods to serve its own ends. In other words, racial mixture cannot in itself be condemned since the Germans are themselves such a mixture; but the Jews are a mixture of inferior racial stocks, hence they are inferior and their influence is deleterious. They are uncreative non-Aryans, unlike the non-Aryan Hungarians, Finns, and Ests who are culturally creative.

If this were not sufficient to condemn the Jews, the German racists add another charge: the Jews are different because they have a "consciousness of blood and kind." This is bad when Jews possess it—it becomes a virtue, ostensibly, when Germans possess it.

These are the most conservative arguments offered in the case, and it is only the more scientific minded of the racists who feel constrained to offer even so much of apologetics for their position. The more rabid racists do not need the support of logic or theory. For them it is sufficient that they do not like Jews and do not wish to see them play any part or reap any benefits in the new birth of German greatness.

It is a curious phenomenon that not only Jews may be "Jewish" in the minds of ardent Nazis. Anything which the Nazis dislike becomes "Jewish," whether it be men with hook-noses and earlocks, or department stores, or the horizontal type of architecture. Even noted Catholic leaders like Erzberger and Adenauer become "Jewish" when they arouse the ire of the Nazis. Johann von Leers, a well-known National Socialist writer, so classifies these two Catholics in his pamphlet *Jews Are Looking at You* (*Juden Sehen Dich An*).

This phenomenon is undoubtedly merely a continuation of the pre-War anti-Semitic tradition of damning people by calling them "Jews." It is an old trick and has even been introduced here in the United States. As early as 1888 the anonymous author of

The Original Mr. Jacobs said: "In an old Byzantine writer we find an interesting but at the same time heart-rending account of a corner in wheat, organized by a family of Tarsus Jews, the chief of whom was called Johannes Rockefellos. The result of this corner, while it brought fabulous wealth 'to the abominable clan of the Rockefellos, shattered the foundations of our prosperity, brought ruin and death to our beloved fellow-citizens, and prepared the destruction of our fair city.' The people, the author informs us, finally arose as one man against the family; but the three prominent brothers, Johannes, Moses, and Wilhelm, made their escape to western Europe and there were lost. The name is certainly suggestive." (p. 40.)

The Nazis realize quite well that to label a man a "Jew" can always be relied upon to bring a response from certain groups whose opposition to and hatred for the Jew is deepseatedly ingrained in their very nature. There is no doubt that many of the leaders, who may not themselves have any genuine, personal prejudice against the Jews, cannot resist the temptation to play upon a string the response of which is so certain and so useful for their purposes. On the other hand, there is equally no doubt that some of the leaders genuinely believe that the Jews are a bad influence and possess some magical ability to contaminate with their cultural virus those with whom they come into contact.

For these reasons it has availed the Jew little to protest against the restrictions which have been imposed upon him; and this not because of any scarcity of arguments which might be brought in his favor. The presumed racial mixture of the Jew has not prevented him from making many meritorious contributions to the political and cultural life of the German people, contributions which Aryan Germans themselves praised quite freely before the advent of Naziism. The unusually high percentage of Jews among the German winners of the Nobel Prize is merely one indication of this fact. Certainly the objection to the Jew on the basis of intellectual inferiority has no grounds.

The fact that the Jewish religion is a universalistic, ethical religion closely allied to Christianity and finding with it a common source of inspiration in the Hebrew Bible, or that the prophetic conception of the common brotherhood of all humanity is one of its most basic precepts, is also conveniently overlooked by the Nazis. It is ironic that the Jews are damned in Germany with such epithets as "pacifist" and "internationalist."

The assumption that the Jew is the traitor who has stabbed Germany in the back and is responsible for all of its woes is too puerile for refutation. Constituting in all less than one per cent of the German population, even when women, children, and suckling infants are counted, it is difficult to envisage the seriousness of the "menace" to German progress. The facts of the matter are, on the contrary, that the Jew has lived in Germany for centuries, has always felt not only a love for his Fatherland but also a great pride in being a German, and has fought valiantly for his country in every war. The Jew feels that the common culture which he shares with other Germans, their common language and their common historic experiences—above all, his *will* to be German, make him truly German, despite the accusations and strictures of his Nazi foes.

SOME OF THE BASIC CAUSES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

The gist of the entire matter is that all arguments which the Jew might offer in his own defense are futile in the face of the wave of hatred which has spread throughout Germany and which has been lashed to hurricane proportions by the Nazi leaders.

The basic antipathy to the Jews is deep seated. It is neither new nor original among the German people. Even the Hellenistic peoples of Seleucidean Syria and Ptolemaic Egypt, three centuries before the Christian era, could not forgive the Jew for refusing to lose himself in Asiatic Hellenism. His refusal to intermarry and to assimilate, religiously or otherwise, earned him the hatred of many in the Graeco-Roman world also. The early

Christians took over this hatred and it has persisted ever since. At an impressionable age, the "crimes" of the "villainous" New Testament Jews, Judases, and Pharisees are dinned into the ears of the child. Thus the prejudice against Jews has as early an origin in the life of the individual Christian as it had, historically, in the life of the Christian Church.

Economic and professional envy intensify this basic antipathy. The presence of the Jew in relatively large numbers in the professions of law and medicine, as well as his participation in some of the large commercial and financial enterprises, makes him conspicuous and fosters the erroneous notion that all Jews belong in these categories. The refusal of the Jew to intermarry sets him still more noticeably apart. His distinctive religion, the only non-Christian religion found to any appreciable extent in most European lands, with its different holidays and ceremonial observances, directs attention to him also. Even physical appearance serves as a further mark of "differentness," the "Jewish" physiognomy (the curved nose, characteristic of about 14 per cent of Jews, but ascribed to all Jews) distinguishing him from his neighbors.

All of these factors have prepared the ground admirably for the present attitude toward Jews in Germany. Hundreds of years of skilled literary propaganda have left their mark. The publications and propaganda of the National Socialist Party fell on fertile soil in the souls of a young and embittered generation of youths. A rational basis was provided for the transmutation of an already existing ingrained prejudice into a flaming hatred, garbed and fortified by the cloaks of patriotism and the defense of culture. It is not surprising that Jews have been deprived of many fundamental rights; the wonder is that thousands of Jews have not already been massacred by the fanatical and inflamed German youth.

Violence and terrorism are a most powerful and irrefutable argument. If the German government has chosen to use this argument for the complete suppression of the Jew, there is nothing, apparently, which he can do except to rest his case in the court of world opinion and in the tribunal of time.

* * *

It has been a common contention of those men who have opposed the Jew in Germany that the Jew is an "alien"; that he has not helped build the German state and has not shed his blood in its wars. What truth is there in such statements? Have the Jews entered into the political life of the German land? If they have, has their influence been for good or for evil? We can answer these important questions only by a careful examination of the character of Jewish participation in German political life from the earliest times to the fall of the Second Empire on that fateful November day in 1918.

CHAPTER VI

THE JEW IN GERMAN POLITICAL LIFE

(321-1918)

THE ANTIQUITY OF GERMAN JEWISH SETTLEMENT

THERE is evidence that individual Jews came to Germany in the first two centuries of the common era as soldiers and traders. By the year 300 there was already an organized Jewish community in Cologne, and, in all probability, in Treves also, both cities located on the Rhine border of the Roman Empire. There is a document showing that, in the year 321, Constantine the Great issued a law imposing certain civic administrative duties on the Roman Jewish citizens of Cologne. Before the Roman occupation came to an end, Jews had settled in at least eight other important towns in Germany.

However, the invasions of the Germans during their *Völkerwanderungen* put an end to the Jewish communities of Roman Germany, and it is not until the Middle Ages that we again hear of Jewish settlements along the Rhine.

THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE MEDIEVAL JEW

From about 800 to 1250 the medieval Germanic state gave the Jew considerable liberty and accorded him certain specified rights. Although Jews were considered citizens like the Christian Germans, the rights of citizenship could be exercised only within one's corporate group. Group affiliation was determined, in turn, either by religion or traditional, social status. Only Christians—many of them clergymen—were civil officials. The Christian masses were subject to a specific Christian law, either secular or canonical; the Jews were subject to rabbinic law. It is obvious, therefore, why the Jew could play no political rôle in the medieval Christian state even when he was not mistreated.

In spite of the barriers that made it impossible for Jews to serve the feudal and imperial authorities in a political capacity they unquestionably exerted some political influence as financial agents and economic advisors. Individual Jewish business men and money-lenders were on friendly terms with German rulers all through the medieval and early modern periods.

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE GERMAN JEW DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

Despite the tendency toward separatism displayed by the medieval Jew, his personal relations with his fellow Germans were friendly and might have been intimate if the Church had not intervened. It was the Church that kept German Jew and German Christian apart, and so intensified the growing antipathy between the two that bad blood was inevitable.

Beginning as early as the eleventh century, mass persecution of the Jews became the order of the day. A series of expulsions followed, with the result that by the sixteenth century the majority of Jews had already fled south and east, primarily to Poland.

JEWISH POLITICAL ACTIVITY TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

After the devastating Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the German princes who wished to further the economic life of their states and territories invited Jews to resettle within their borders. The valuable economic contribution of German Jewry, the growing spirit of eighteenth century Enlightenment, and the sweep of French revolutionary and Napoleonic equalitarianism paved the way for the emancipation of the Jews in Prussia in 1812. Now, as citizens, they attempted to enter into German politics, but before they got very far, the post-Napoleonic reaction set in.

Germany, frightened at French liberalism, turned its back on the principle of equal rights for all men. The fervent patriotism engendered by the Wars of Liberation encouraged the growing romantic movement which looked for inspiration and instruction to the history, literature, and ideals of the German Christian medieval state—a state in which the Jew had little place. Historical tradition rather than humanizing reason guided the authorities in their attitude. Thus, on the threshold of freedom, equality, and opportunity, the Jew was pushed back into a constitutional ghetto.

In the period of reaction (1815-1848) that followed, Jews, together with other liberals, fought for the emancipation of the German masses from their conservative rulers. Ludwig Börne (d. 1837) and Heinrich Heine (d. 1856) were active in the Young German movement which sought to introduce French concepts of liberalism into a land of hide-bound class rule. During the days of the French invasion Börne had striven to rouse the dormant sentiment of German patriotism; after the French defeat in 1815 and after the victorious Germans recalled the limited rights already granted to the Jews, he turned his sharp and bitter pen against the stubborn princes. He first fought for Jewish emancipation but later, as his Jewish interests waned, or, possibly, as he envisaged Jewish disabilities as but one phase of the general political evil, he denounced despotism and preached liberty and republican ideals to an eager German youth.

Heine, who in his poems and sketches had poked fun at the German bureaucrats, shared the same opinions as Börne. He worked, in his own way, to create a group in his Fatherland which would further the Rights of Man for which the French had stood since 1789. It was the consciousness that he had dealt many a telling blow through his writings against political despotism and intellectual tyranny that prompted him to say: "Lay a sword on my coffin, for I was a brave soldier in the Liberation War of humanity."

THE JEW AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW GERMAN STATE

It was not until the European Revolution of 1848 that Jews had an opportunity to participate actively in the political life of Germany. This outburst of liberalism, this demand of the European peoples for representative government, was particularly strong in Germany. A half-dozen Jews who were active in this revolution of the masses were destined to play a considerable rôle in German political life in the years that followed: Gabriel Riesser, Martin Eduard von Simson, Johann Jacoby, Ludwig Bamberger, Karl Marx, and Ferdinand Lassalle. With the exception of Karl Marx, these men, like Börne before them, wanted to create a strong, nationalistic, united Germany out of a group of independent, petty, autocratic Germanic states.

Riesser insisted on the principle that civil and political rights should not be dependent on religious belief, and it is largely due to his vigorous defense of this tenet that it found acceptance in the new constitutions promulgated after 1848. Those Jews who, like Riesser, were especially interested in the emancipation of the Jews realized that the Jewish question was tied up with the larger issue of representative free government. Like all liberal Germans they wanted democratic representation, the right of the people to impose their own taxes and to legislate for themselves. They also wanted autonomy and freedom of the press.

It was this program—then a very radical one—that prompted the liberal Germans to call the Frankfort Parliament of 1848. At this assembly which attempted to create a united Germany, Eduard von Simson, a cousin of David Friedländer and a convert, was appointed President (December); Gabriel Riesser, a loyal Jew and a vigorous fighter for Jewish freedom, was one of the vice-presidents. Simson and Riesser were members of the committee that in 1849 offered Frederick William IV a German imperial crown, which he refused.

Twenty-one years later (1870), when the German Empire was created, his brother William I accepted the crown. And again it was Simson who made the offer on behalf of the North German Federation, of whose Reichstag he was president. This brilliant parliamentarian died in 1899 at the ripe age of eighty-nine, after he had crowned his splendid career with the presidency of the Supreme Court of the entire Reich. His descendants, however, are today considered ineligible for office in the very empire which he did so much to create: they are of non-Aryan origin.

Following the principle laid down in '48, the North German Federation, in 1869, declared that religion was no longer to be a bar to citizenship. This same concept was taken over into the German Constitution of 1871 which applied to all states in the new empire.

Thus, the coordination of the present German states into a single, strongly united Germany, which was finally accomplished by the National Socialists, was an idea which German Jewish patriots in 1848 did much to further. In this respect, ironically enough, Adolf Hitler is their testamentary legatee.

After 1871, when the German Empire was finally established, the Jews still voted with the liberal parties. It is true, they now possessed the fundamental privileges of citizenship, but positions of honor and trust were barred to them by the reactionary feudal and military aristocracy. Both their idealism and their common sense prompted them to work with the liberal bourgeois parties for the solution of the social problems created by the rise of an urban proletariat in the new industrialized Germany. The Jew, possibly more sensitive than others, realized that the new industrial capitalism of which he was a part was accompanied by abuses which could only be remedied by social legislation. Possibly he had already begun to feel the attack of the anti-Semites who singled him out among all others as the protagonist of the capitalistic system with its many faults.

Inasmuch as no man in Prussia of the Jewish faith could be appointed to a cabinet office, the men of Jewish origin who became ministers and high officials were those who renounced their religion or those who had already been baptized at birth. In this study we shall include such men among the Jews, if for no other reason than because the Nazis themselves look upon them as Jews and subject them to the discriminatory non-Aryan legislation.

Probably the most influential convert in German political life was Friedrich Julius Stahl (Schlesinger, d. 1861), professor of law at Berlin. A brilliant philosopher, he laid down the basic principles of German political conservatism. He dwelt upon the importance of the state above the interests of the individual. It was he who coined the slogan: "Authority, not Majority."

The state, he taught, receives its authority through the historic traditions of the past, through the principle of legitimacy, through Divine favor, and above all, through its possessions of power. The state, he maintained, must encourage large families for the sake of improving the national economy and strengthening the national armies. There must be an intimate union, he believed, between church and state. Stahl was a pious Christian, a romantic, and a keen thinker.

Bismarck, at the time a young deputy in the Prussian chamber, was very much influenced by the teachings of Stahl, particularly by his views on the need for a strong monarchical authority. The influence of Friedrich Stahl's teachings is also strongly apparent in the new Christian romantic state of Adolf Hitler.

Among this group of converted Jews were the two who served as Prussian ministers under Bismarck: Heinrich Friedberg (d. 1895), for thirteen years Minister of Justice, and Rudolf Friedenthal, Minister of Agriculture (1874-1879). In 1890, Paul Kayser was appointed director of the Colonial Office and later Bernhard Dernburg, son of a converted Jew, became an official of cabinet rank in charge of the German colonies. (The aristocratic Kaiser would probably have been very much surprised had he known that this half-Jew, on his Christian mother's side, was related to the Kaiser himself.) It was largely through the initiative of this "business man in politics" that the railroad was built in German East Africa and that an intelligent attempt was made to establish the economic well-being of the colonies. For a brief period in 1919, he was Minister of Finance under the Republic but resigned with other members of the Scheidemann cabinet who refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Their contemporary, the well-known bi-metallist, Otto Arendt (b. 1854), another convert, had led a strong movement in the Free Conservative Party for the creation of a German colonial empire.

The only Jew who, as a Jew, held a cabinet office in a German state prior to the War, was Moritz Ellstätter, for twenty-five years head of the Baden treasury under the Grand Duke, Frederick I.

LASKER AND BAMBERGER

In the new Empire created in 1871 largely through the genius of Bismarck, the great chancellor leaned heavily on the National Liberal Party which since 1866 had worked for a strong, united, nationalistic, and liberal German Empire. Two Jews, Eduard Lasker (d. 1884) and Ludwig Bamberger (d. 1899), active in this party, helped Bismarck create the new Germany.

In 1848 Bamberger, who had fought for freedom against German tyranny, had been compelled to flee abroad, with a price on his head. In 1859 he wrote a plea for a united Germany, and when he was amnestied in 1866 he returned and placed himself and his fine knowledge of economics at the service of the government. He became a valued advisor of Bismarck. He helped create the *Reichsbank* and did valuable work in drawing up the finance laws of the Empire. Lasker was active in the formulation of a unified law for all the German states, and, in 1873, exposed the unsoundness of the financial "boom" which followed the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

Beginning with the late 'seventies some of the National Liberals who were opposed to Bismarck's protectionist policy and who had hoped for a more liberal constitutional state broke with him. The party, now distasteful to Bismarck because of its liberal trend, was jockeyed out of power by the astute chancellor who then aligned himself with the Junker Conservatives and the powerful Catholic Centrum. With the decline of the National Liberal

Party, both Lasker and Bamberger lost much of their influence.

Bismarck's break with the National Liberals was part of his general policy of opposition to the liberalization of the German Empire. This anti-liberal attitude expressed itself in his tacit approval of the new Christian Socialist Workers' Party (1878) which had been created to entice the working people from the liberal and radical parties into the conservative camp and which was unfriendly to the Jews. Bismarck himself was not particularly fond of Jews but he was certainly no anti-Semite. It is true, however, that with his new conservative following he tolerated anti-Jewish sentiments. The immediate political result for the Jews was that it forced them, as liberals, into opposition to him.

THE JEW AND GERMAN SOCIALISM

Bismarck attempted in a more drastic way to crush the growth of German radicalism. Through a series of "Exceptional Laws" he hoped to cripple the growing Social Democratic (Socialist) Party. His dislike of this political group was intense because of their internationalism and their expressed desire to change the semi-autocratic Empire into a liberal republic.

Social Democracy, in its beginnings at least, owed a great deal both to its founder, Karl Marx (1818-1883), and to its first political organizer, Ferdinand Lassalle (d. 1864). Marx, brought into the Christian fold by his father as a lad of six, was an active champion of democracy and revolution in autocratic Prussia. His radicalism brought upon him the unwelcome attentions of the police authorities, with the result that he found it advisable, in 1843, to remove to the more congenial and more liberal France. There, during the following year, he published his essay *On the Jewish Question*. This is a rather mean, unjust attack on Judaism and the Jews, and can be explained psychologically as an expression of the acute inferiority of a young man who could not forgive himself for having been born a Jew.

The reputation of this great political economist, idealist, and social reformer is, fortunately, founded not on this youthful essay but on his classical three volume work, *Das Kapital* (1867-1894). In this great work, as in his earlier *Communist Manifesto* (1848), he preached the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois states by the expropriated proletariat and the establishment of an ideal state in which the masses would control the means of production and distribution for the common good.

Marx's radicalism made little impression on the Germany of 1848, and it was not until 1864 that he was able to establish the International Workingmen's Association. This organization, primarily an instrument of propaganda against the capitalists, was not very effective. Marx himself had no success in establishing a revolutionary Social Democratic party anywhere.

The first steps toward the creation of a Socialist party in Germany were due not to Marx, but to another Jew, Ferdinand Lassalle. Lassalle was also a 'forty-eighter, a brilliant student, orator, and agitator. He had met the liberal Heine in Paris in 1845-1846, and had worked with Marx in 1848 on the radical *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. He did not, however, become active in the socialist movement until 1862. In 1863 he created the General German Workingmen's Association out of which was to grow the Socialist party.

Unlike Marx, he was a nationalist and a friend of the Prussian state. He even offered Bismarck the support of the working masses at the price of the franchise and of social welfare legislation. Bismarck turned him down then, but acted on the suggestion later. Lassalle believed that through the ballot the workingman could capture the state. The latter would then provide the capital with which to create enterprises, the profits of which would accrue to the masses, the chief creators of values.

Unfortunately for the cause he represented, he was killed in a duel over a love affair and his party languished until his followers united with other Social Democrats to create the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. This party had become Marxian in the sense that it was committed to the establishment of a workingman's state.

Among those who eventually accepted the Marxian program was the distinguished Jewish liberal, Johann Jacoby (d. 1877), a physician at Koenigsberg. He, too, had struggled to create a free and united Germany on a republican basis. As early as 1841, he had dared to request of the King that he permit the people to rule themselves. This request brought upon him the serious charge of attempted high treason, of "reckless opposition," which led to a sentence of two and half year's garrison arrest. "Yes," he answered boldly to the charge, "I advocate the most extreme opposition to all injustice and untruth."

He was one of the deputies who went to see the romantic reactionary, Frederick William IV, in 1848 to demand the dismissal of the conservative Brandenburg ministry. When the King, in disdain, walked out of the room at Sans Souci, Jacoby called after him: "That is the misfortune of kings; they do not want to hear the truth." In 1866 he served a six months sentence in prison for attacking the militarists and the Prussian agrarian magnates. This was his fourth trial. His brave protest against the annexation of Alsace in 1870 brought another sentence of imprisonment. Jacoby sympathized with Lassalle's efforts to give the workingman a greater share in the government. In his last years he inclined to the left and supported the Social Democrats, who offered him a seat in the Reichstag. This he declined.

The Socialist Party, particularly after 1890, when it was again tolerated by the state, pushed its radicalism into the background and concerned itself primarily with practicable reforms. It sought the ballot for everyone, insisted on the right of free speech, and demanded civil equality for both men and women, and free secular education. In this socialist party of pre-War days, two Jews stand out among its many leaders: Paul Singer and Eduard Bernstein.

Singer, a wealthy cloak manufacturer distinguished for his charities, was active in the party as a parliamentarian and a debater from 1884 on. Bernstein was important as the theoretician of socialistic "Revisionism." From 1896 on, he asked for a revision of Marxian ideology. He declared that the Marxian theory of the inevitability of social revolution was historically untenable and pleaded for immediate social reforms in preference to the uncertain advantages of a distant revolution. He appealed to the socialists to cooperate with the liberal and democratic forces in German political life. Unlike most Jewish socialists, who were altogether out of touch with Jewish aspiration, he was in sympathy with Jews and had an appreciation for the socialistic aspect of the Zionist movement.

Among their practical measures to aid the German workingman, the Socialists had created a series of Free Trades-Unions since 1868. In that same year Max Hirsch (d. 1905), of Berlin, a wealthy Jewish business man, economist, and social reformer, helped to create the Hirsch-Duncker Unions. These were built on a nationalistic basis and, contrary to the theory of class warfare, sought to maintain good relations between employer and employee. In later years these Hirsch-Duncker Unions, flanked on the left by the Socialistic Free Trades-Unions and on the right by the Christian Trades-Unions, made considerable progress. Like all others they were coordinated into the German Labor Front by the National Socialists in 1933.

THE JEW IN WAR

The keen interest of the German Jew in his Fatherland in times of peace was paralleled by his patriotic devotion under the stress of war. In the World War of 1914-1918, German Jewry, despite the fact that it labored under social, economic, and political discrimination, flocked to the colors. The first German Reichstag deputy to fall in battle was the volunteer socialist deputy Ludwig Frank. He had always pleaded for friendly relations with England and France and had declared: "Peace will be guaranteed, not by diplomats, but by democrats." Yet when his country called, he answered. He died on the battlefield in September, 1914.

The patriotism of German Jews has always been of a very intense type. *Émigrés* who have been compelled to leave because of the hostile Hitler regime are still most loyal to Germany, despite their opposition to its present leaders. In the Wars of Liberation (1813-1815), 15.5 per cent of all full-grown Jews volunteered for service; among them was a woman, Luise Grafemus, who received the coveted Iron Cross. Among the many volunteers in this war against Napoleon was the fifteen year old Levy, son of the Berlin banker, H. Jacob Levy. The Bavarian court-banker, Jakob von Hirsch, grandfather of the philanthropist Baron Maurice de Hirsch, supported a battalion of soldiers at his own expense.

In 1866, 1100 Jews served in the Austro-Prussian War. In 1870-71, in the Franco-Prussian War, 7000 served. Of these over 5 per cent were awarded the Iron Cross.

In the last war about 100,000 German Jews served; every sixth Jew in Germany, counting males and females, infants, children, and adults, was in the army. At least 80,000 of these soldiers served at the front. About 10 per cent (10,000 of the 100,000 who served) were volunteers. At least 12,000 Jewish soldiers gave their lives for their Fatherland.

After the war, Dietrich Eckart (d. 1923), editor of the Munich anti-Semitic weekly *"Auf gut Deutsch"* offered a prize of 1,000 marks for proof that a single Jewish family had sent three sons into the trenches for a period of three weeks. Rabbi Freund of Hannover at once gave him a list of twenty families of his own community who had sent three sons into the trenches for three weeks or more. Inasmuch as Herr Eckart refused to recognize these facts, the Rabbi appealed to the Munich judicial authorities and demanded the prize. Not only was the evidence mentioned offered by Dr. Freund but he presented a further list of fifty families from various communities, some of which had seven and eight sons in the trenches and had lost three sons in the service of their country. Compelled to admit the authenticity of these facts, Eckart was forced to pay the thousand marks which was then applied by the rabbi to charitable purposes.

About 35,000 Jewish soldiers in the German army during the War were decorated; about 23,000 were promoted to non-commissioned rank, and over 2,000, not including medical officers, were commissioned. These officers all received their commissions for meritorious service during the War, for, excepting a few in Bavaria, no Jewish officers were tolerated in the pre-War aristocratic German army. One hundred and sixty-five Jewish fliers saw actual war service; thirty were shot down. Baron Manfred von Richthofen, one of the greatest of the German aces, was of partial Jewish origin. (His portrait still graces the study of Goering, Reich Commissioner for Aviation.) Acts of heroism among the Jewish soldiers were not uncommon. One of the youngest volunteers in the German army was the Jewish lad, Josef Zippes, who was only thirteen years of age in 1914. He lost both legs in action and finally died in 1934 as a result of his war wounds. At sixteen, Siegfried Elias of Krefeld was shot down carrying food forward through the enemy's barrage.

TECHNICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF GERMAN JEWS DURING THE WORLD WAR

The solid service of Jews at the front was complemented by brilliant work of a technical nature behind the lines. The work done over a period of years by Adolf Frank and Nikodem Caro, and later by Professor Ernst Haber, in securing nitrogen from the air was of prime importance for agriculture and the manufacture of munitions. It was the inventive genius of the chemist Haber (d. 1934) in particular that made it possible to continue the manufacture of explosives. The importance of this discovery may be gauged by the statement of Vorster, a Conservative Deputy of the Prussian House of Representatives: "Without the new nitrogen process of Professor Haber, the War would have been lost in three months." Haber was also an important figure during the War in the organization of the chemical warfare service. He personally directed the gas operations on the field of battle and together with Willstätter, his friend, designed the first gas mask used in the German army.

Dr. Neuberg perfected means for the production of glycerines and fats; Epstein and Sakur (who lost his life in his experiments) were active in perfecting gases for chemical warfare. Professor Wassermann, the discoverer of the Wassermann test for syphilis, organized the vaccine service for the army and contributed toward the prevention of tetanus in wounded soldiers. It was Dr. Leo Lowenstein who perfected the technique of sound measurement which made possible more accurate and effective artillery fire.

Work of a different type, but equally brilliant and important, was performed by Walther Rathenau who, as chief of the War Materials Office, organized the supply of raw materials for the German army, work that had been sadly neglected by the army heads. In October, 1914, Germany lacked sufficient munitions to carry on the war for more than a few months. The Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, in a letter of July 15, 1916, pointed out that Germany could not have held out that long against its enemies had it not been for Rathenau's prompt and far-sighted activity. Max Warburg and Carl J. Melchior, the Hamburg bankers, Albert Ballin, the real creator of the Hamburg-American line, and a number of other Jews served Germany as financial advisors.

As the War drew to its tragic close in the autumn of 1918, the military clique and the Prussian bureaucrats, both of whom had made miserable blunders, turned the government over to the astonished Social Democrats hoping that this democratic group could secure better terms of peace from the democratic Entente. The allied forces had declared that they would deal only with a representative and liberal government. Pressure from the enemy allies and unrest among the masses finally forced the slow-moving, hesitant Majority Socialists to take action: the German Republic was proclaimed November 9, 1918.

* * *

The soberest evidence of German Jewish political liberalism and civic integrity was their consistent and loyal support of the German Republic once it was established. Yet it was in his relation to this very Republic that the German Jew has been most cruelly vilified. The Republic itself has been frequently damned as a "Jew's Republic" created at the price of Jewish treachery and the overthrow of the Second Empire. In this new state the Jew—as we are solemnly told by his avowed enemies—was all powerful and all corruptive. He controlled and exploited public office; dominated evilly the press of the entire land; and encouraged the invasion of over a million "alien" Jews from the retarded, war-ridden Slavonic lands to the east. These are serious accusations. How true are they? If they are not true, why were they made?

CHAPTER VII

JEWRY IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE REPUBLIC (1918-1933)

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

THE Jews, in spite of all that they had suffered together with other Germans throughout the four long years of war, were not in sympathy with a revolution. The National Liberal Party to which many of them belonged was, as late as November 7, 1918, opposed to the abdication of William II; the Progressive Party, to which possibly the majority of Jews belonged, would have been satisfied with the retirement of the Kaiser. Even the Majority Socialists did not want the revolution; those who fought and worked for it were the Independent Socialists and the Spartacists (the communists).

Six Social Democrats, serving as People's Commissars, took charge of the interim government until the new constitution was drafted and put into force. Two of these six deputies were Jews: Otto Landsberg and Hugo Haase. Haase (1863-1919), a brilliant intellect and an idealist whose nobility of character was acknowledged even by his enemies, together with a non-Jew, Ebert, had succeeded Bebel as head of the Socialist Party sometime before the War. He was opposed to the War on principle, and, in 1915, attacked his own party for their lack of international solidarity and their failure to insist on peace. The following year he broke with the Socialists (Majority Socialists) and in 1917 created the aggressive Independent Social Democratic Party. This Koenigsberg Jew had the courage, reminiscent of that of his fellow-townsman, Johann Jacoby, to get up in the German parliament during the War to attack its chauvinism and to demand the renunciation of annexation plans, the cessation of Belgian deportations, the stopping of the submarine campaign, and the negotiation of peace. His post-War career was cut short when he was fatally wounded, October 8, 1919, as he was about to make disclosures of the treasonable activities of counter-revolutionary forces in the Baltic lands.

In the spring and summer of 1919, while the government was being carried on by the Weimar Coalition (a group of Socialists and Liberals), a National Constituent Assembly met at Weimar to adopt a new constitution. There were 423 delegates elected by the German people; nine were Jews and four were of Jewish ancestry. Of these thirteen Jews, four belonged to the bourgeois parties and nine to the socialistic parties. All told, 187 socialists sat in the assembly.

The Weimar Constitution, adopted August 11, 1919, which made of Germany a democratic republic, was largely the work of Hugo Preuss (d. 1925), Professor of Public Law at the Berlin College of Commerce. Preuss, who was also Minister of the Interior in 1919, attempted in vain, while preparing the constitution, to create a strong united Germany and to disregard the particularism of the various states. Originally he had hoped also to include Austria in this unitarian empire. He was aided in his efforts in this direction by Ludo Hartmann, baptized as a Christian at birth, the first ambassador of the Austrian Republic to the German Republic. Ludo Hartmann was the son of the famous poet, writer, and liberal, Moritz Hartmann, who was a German-Bohemian delegate in 1848 at the Frankfort National Assembly, at which he fought for the establishment of a German republic. This pan-German goal of Preuss, now taken over by Hitler, was then frustrated, even as it is today, by the Entente powers. Preuss, refusing to countenance the Versailles Treaty, resigned his ministerial portfolio in the summer of 1919.

When, in early 1919, the militant Spartacists realized that the socialists would not bring about a thorough and immediate proletarian revolution, they turned against the government and attempted to seize control of the state by force and violence. The revolution was ruthlessly suppressed by the socialist leader, Noske, and both Karl Liebknecht (a non-Jew) and Rosa Luxemburg (a Jewess), the leaders of the revolution, were arrested and lynched.

A communist revolt also broke out in Bavaria when Kurt Eisner, the socialistic Bavarian premier, was shot down by Count Arco-Vally, a nationalist and a half-Jew on his mother's side. Eisner, an Independent Socialist writer, dramatic critic, and former editor of the *Vorwärts,* was a Jew by birth. He led the mass movement in Munich on November 7, 1918, which overthrew the imperial government and created a "democratic and social republic" in Bavaria. "The German people," he said, "knows itself to be one with all the peoples of Europe in the will to safeguard the future of the world by a universal alliance of law and liberty, and looks forward with confidence to the fulfillment of the world-peace proclaimed by President Wilson."

After Eisner's assassination in February, 1919, a communist government was finally established in Munich in April, and it held out for two and a half weeks before it was wiped out in violence. Among the leaders and sympathizers were some Jewish writers: Gustav Landauer, Ernst Toller, Erich Mühsam, and Eugen Leviné-Nissen, all four of them cultured intellectuals. When this communist republic fell, among the scores who were shot were Landauer and Leviné. Ernst Toller and Mühsam were imprisoned, and Count Arco-Vally was given an important position. It was at this time that Adolf Hitler began his National Socialist agitation.

JEWS IN THE REICHSTAG AND STATE LEGISLATURES, 1871-1930

There were about sixty Jews—including Jewish converts to Christianity—who served for a single term or for several terms in the Reichstag from the founding of the Empire in 1871 to 1930. About twenty, roughly speaking, were members of the National Liberal, Progressive, and Democratic parties, all bourgeois groups dedicated to the principles of liberal government; about thirty-five were socialists, mostly in the period following the World War; and about five were communists. In the Prussian state legislature (1871-1930), of twenty-three Jewish deputies who were elected, seven were socialists, fifteen were liberals, and one was a communist. In the aristocratic Prussian upper house of the pre-War period, there were five Jewish members, two of whom were converts. In the various other state legislatures, the number of Jews elected was minimal. It is not improbable that other parliamentarians possibly as many as fifteen or twenty, not included in these rather general statistics were of Jewish or partial Jewish origin. It is not always easy to determine the non-Aryan blood in a man's veins.

In view of the fact that the Reichstag membership varied from 382 to 577 and that new elections were held every three to five years—and sometimes more often—it is obvious that a total number of sixty deputies (or even seventy or eighty) over a period of about sixty years would probably correspond very closely to the percentage of Jews in the country, about one per cent. (This estimate has been made without forgetting that some deputies served not once but several times.) The professional training of many Jews and their social ideals impelled many of them to attempt a political career, but the growing anti-Semitism since the 'seventies induced even the liberal and radical parties to proceed cautiously in nominating them for office.

JEWISH PARTY AFFILIATION

Jews in Germany have always affiliated themselves with either the liberal or the socialist parties. The liberal parties, particularly their post-War successor, the Democratic party, were the organs of the intelligent business and professional men who were interested in constitutional liberty and fair play to all groups within the state. In pre-War times Jewish professional men, still excluded from the civil service and the university professorships (in Prussia at any rate), naturally aligned themselves with a party that promised them actual equality of opportunity. Fair play, idealism, and economic interests thus dictated the affiliation of the average Jew with the middle class and liberal parties.

Even if Jews were very conservative, they could not with any sense of self-respect join the Conservative or German Nationalist Party which, since 1892, carried an anti-Semitic plank in its platforms. On the other hand, the average Jew in commerce or in a profession found socialism unacceptable because of its social and economic radicalism and its negation of religion. Individual Jews, however, convinced of the idealistic character of socialism, entered enthusiastically into the movement and, because of their superior training compared with that of the laboring classes, they often attained positions of leadership in the party. When the Social Democrats were in power for a short time after the War, their leaders naturally held important state offices. Thus, in addition to those we have already mentioned, Gradnauer, who is of Jewish origin, was premier in Saxony (1919-1921), Paul Hirsch was premier of Prussia (1918-1920), and Kurt Rosenfeld, a leader of the Independent Socialists after Haase's death, was Prussian Minister of Justice for a while (1918).

In the post-War period the Jewish masses, at most 350,000 voters, flocked to the Democratic Party which in its first and greatest election mustered over five and one half million votes. There is no more eloquent testimony of the decline of the political "power" of the Jews than the fact in the elections of November 6, 1932, this same "Jewish" party could muster only 336,500 votes out of a total of about 35,360,000. Next to the socialist group the Democratic Party was the most liberal group in Germany.

Theodor Wolff, the brilliant editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt,* now a fugitive abroad, was one of its founders. Walther Rathenau, industrialist and statesman, was one of its outstanding figures. First as Minister of Reconstruction (1921) and later as Foreign

Minister (1922), he worked to effect a reconciliation with France and an understanding with Russia (Treaty of Rapallo, 1922). His attempt to save Germany by urging the German industrialists to consider the state's welfare before their own and his attempt to reconcile the Entente powers cost him his life; he was assassinated June 24, 1922. The National Socialists set up a memorial to his assassins on the spot where they committed suicide. With the exception of Rudolf Hilferding, the socialist economist who served twice as Minister of Finance (1923 and 1928-1929), Rathenau was the last Jew to serve in a German cabinet.

POST-WAR ANTI-SEMITISM AS AN ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

By June, 1920, the socialist rule, mild as it was, had been rejected by the majority of the people. The first election under the republican constitution (1920) put the power into the hands of a moderately liberal group with a Catholic Centrist as chancellor. This shift to the right convinced a diverse group of forces that the time was ripe to initiate a movement to overthrow the Republic or to change its democratic character. The agrarian Junkers, the bureaucrats, the military caste, the romantic reactionaries, the "lunatic fringe," the czaristic refugees, the ambitious demagogues—all these wanted the monarchy back. The industrial magnates, fearing the power of the Free Trades-Unions and their socialist party, wanted a more conservative government.

All these forces set to work to discredit the republican government. Whether unwittingly or by design, they decided that the easiest approach to their goal would be to stir up anti-Semitism and then to identify the Jews with the Republic, thus discrediting it in the minds of the masses. It was hoped, relying upon the pre-War anti-Semitic tradition, that it would not be difficult to point out how bad the Jews were. The people were to be told that it was the Jew who created the Revolution of 1918, introduced the Republic, and was now dominating and exploiting the German people politically; the only way Germany could save itself from ruin was by overthrowing the Republic. The possibility that this attack, which also attempted to identify the Jew with Bolshevism, was part of an international anti-Semitic program is suggested by the fact that in this period (1919-1920) the *Protocols [or Secrets] of the Elders of Zion* appeared not only in Russia with the armies of the White Terror but also in Germany, England, and America. It was now, too, that Henry Ford began his attacks on American Jewry in the *Dearborn Independent.*

"THE INTERNATIONAL JEWISH CONSPIRACY"

The basic work utilized by most anti-Semites and anti-Republicans in Germany to prove the "treasonable character" of the Jew was the German edition of the *Die Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion* (Secrets of the Elders of Zion), 1919. This book purported to contain the minutes of the grandmasters of the Jewish Masonic lodges who had assembled at the Zionist Congress at Basel in 1897. From the so-called documents which it contains, we learn that the Jews, through their monopoly of gold and money, are in the process of controlling the whole world, working to dominate all governments, legislatures, political parties, schools, the press, and all scientific and economic activities. To accomplish their purposes they not only propose to use the vast stores of gold they possess, but are ready to incite revolution, war, and hatred. They will initiate a reign of terror and are even prepared to disseminate disease and plague to accomplish their purpose. If all the nations of Europe were to unite against the Jews, the latter can summon to their aid the military and naval forces of America, Japan, and China which they already control. If necessary, the subways of all the great cities will be mined and set off at the proper time. (It is not indicated how the large Jewish populations of these cities would escape the disaster.)

This book, as has been shown by Mr. Graves, the Constantinople correspondent of *The* (London) *Times* (August 16, 17, 18, 1921), is, in large part, a bald plagiarism of a series of dialogues first published by the Catholic aristocrat, Maurice Joly, in 1864. In his book the villain was not the Jew, but Napoleon III whom Joly accused of despotic tactics. The Machiavellian Napoleon of Joly's book is metamorphosed into a Jew in the *Protocols*. Investigations by other students have shown that the "Elder of Zion" conspiracy was lifted from *Gaeta, Warschau, und Düppel,* a novel written (1868) by Hermann Goedsche, an anti-Semitic police-spy, who was later dismissed from the Prussian postal service for instigating a forgery. The writings of Joly and Goedsche were adapted and crudely reworked by the agents of the Russian government in 1905 and 1917 in a vain attempt to discredit the revolution of the suffering masses by calling it a Jewish attempt to ruin and rule the world. From the Russian it was translated into German and was then used by anti-Semites to convince the German people that they were only the tools of the Jews who had created the revolution and the Republic to enrich themselves.

HITLER AND THE INTERNATIONAL JEWISH CONSPIRACY

Despite the fact that not a single accusation in this book is true and that its nonsensical character is obvious, it was, nevertheless, extensively read. It certainly made an impression on Adolf Hitler. He has taken over some of its basic ideas and given them further currency in his widely read *My Battle*. A discredited anti-Semitic diatribe becomes in this fashion of prime historic importance. Hitler's book, through constant emphasis, stressed what is only a detail in the German *Secrets of the Elders of Zion:* the close relation between Judaism and communism. Karl Marx, we are told by Hitler, wrote his book, *Das Kapital,* as a technique for the Jewish intellectual leaders who have set out to conquer the world. Marxism, Socialism, and Bolshevism (to the Hitlerite, one and the same thing) are the chief instruments employed by Jewish capitalists to destroy the world and create a despotism of Jewish world finance. The international Jewish financiers who dominate Soviet Russia are now working to get Germany into their clutches. The opposition of the European states to these Jewish machinations is not very strong, we are told, because these states are being bastardized through intermarriage and their spirit of resistance is being broken.

THE JEWS AND BOLSHEVISM

Hitler ignores the fact that those Jewish proletarian workers who belonged to socialistic parties in old Russia were in the Menshivik or anti-Bolshevik camp. The Bolsheviki either imprisoned, exiled, or converted their leaders. Of the 124,021 Leningrad communists in 1918, only 2.6 per cent were Jews. In 1924, seven per cent of the entire party were Jews although they constituted 11 per cent of the urban population. A year later, according to the *Communistic Calendar for 1926* (Moscow, 1926), the percentage of Jews in the Russian communist party was 3.9 per cent of the total. In the Ukraine republic, where the majority of the Russian Jews live, they constitute 5.43 per cent of the total population.

Originally there were a number of outstanding Jews among the communist leaders of the party; today, largely as a result of dogmatic differences with Stalin, the Jewish leaders in key positions can be counted on the fingers of one hand. It is true that a great many Jews, due to their literacy and their academic and economic background, are found in civil service posts of considerable responsibility. It should be borne in mind, however, that not all of these officials, by any means, are members of the controlling communist party. Inasmuch as practically all industries are nationalized, many Jewish clerks, bookkeepers, and typists who work for the government are thus automatically members of the civil service.

Hitler blindly ignores the fact that one of the first acts of the Soviet state was to cancel foreign debts, hardly the thing a Jewish money-International would do if it controlled Russia. The obvious nonsense that the "International Jew" both assembles wealth as a capitalist and expropriates it as a communist does not seem illogical to Hitler. It was these same Russians, dubbed Jewish by Hitler, who destroyed the economic life of the great bulk of Russian Jewry. The policy of socialization of wealth declassed them to the status of social and economic pariahs and for years deprived them of the elementary rights of education and the opportunity to earn a livelihood. It was this same Russian government, prompted by its antagonism to the Jews as members of the old *bourgeoisie,* that allowed hundreds of thousands of Jews to suffer the pangs of hunger and death, and has used all its influence, short of violence, to wean them from their ancestral faith.

THE STAB-IN-THE-BACK LEGEND

In line with the teachings of the *Secrets of the Elders of Zion,* Hitler and many other anti-Semites have declared that the Jew was the real organizer of the Revolution of 1918 which brought about the downfall of the German Empire and the creation of the Republic. This accusation is known in German journalism today as the "stab-in-the-back" legend. It was not the superiority of the allied numbers, armaments, and supplies that forced the Germans to surrender in November, 1918; it was not the desperate hunger of German millions, sick of four years of ceaseless struggle and crying for a change of government. The undermining of the morale of the soldiers at the front and the denial of support at home was caused by the "betrayal" of Germany behind the lines by the socialists and Jews. This alone brought defeat and the ensuing revolution, according to Hitler.

Hitler and his cohorts, assuming that they are sincere, refused to realize that the "stab-in-the-back" myth was invented by the feudal and military classes responsible for the conduct of the War, in order to save themselves from the hands of an outraged people who had already lost 1,756,000 men in battle, and 750,000 men, women, and children behind the lines through undernourishment alone. It is obvious that to individuals of the general staff, the diplomatic service, and the imperial government, the Jew presented himself as an excellent scapegoat to hide their own tragic error and guilt in refusing to consider a peace with honor at a time when such a peace was in the realm of possibility.

These "stab-in-the-back" anti-Semites, who have reflected on the patriotism of the German Jew, have maintained a studied silence about the Jews of Posen and Upper Silesia. Thousands of German Jews in Posen, given the choice of remaining in their homes under Polish rule or migrating to Germany, sacrificed much of their material wealth and chose to suffer with the old Fatherland rather than accept Polish citizenship. At the time of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia (1921) over 99 per cent of the Jews voted in favor of Germany rather than Poland. It is these very Upper Silesian Jews who were recently compelled to appeal for aid to the League of Nations, under the terms of the Upper Silesian Convention of 1922, because of mistreatment by the National Socialists.

That unscrupulous individuals in positions of authority set out deliberately to hold the handful of Jews responsible for the German defeat in 1918 is evidenced in the report of a suggestion made by Major General Count von der Schulenberg to the Emperor at Spa on November 8, 1918, as the German people were demanding the Kaiser's abdication. According to the report in No. 163 of the *Freiheit,* Berlin, April 5, 1919, the General had suggested that:

> "Special leaders of special troops equipped with instruments of modern warfare (smoke-screens, gas, bombing squadrons, and fire throwers) are for the time being to be sent to Verviers, Aachen, and Cologne. They are to be dispatched there immediately in order to restore order and governmental authority, if need be, by force of arms. To guarantee success there must be a proper slogan . . . Our soldiers will always be attracted by the slogan that their brothers-in-arms, the

> navy, together with the Jewish war profiteers and slackers, attacked them in the rear and cut off the army's food supply."

Major General Freiherr von Schönaich, in a letter published in the *Israelitisches Familienblatt,* Hamburg, March 27, 1923, records the following suggestion, made by "a general" to the Kaiser on November 8, 1918, the same day:

> "Let his Majesty put himself at the head of his troops, hurry by forced marches into the Rhineland, and lead the army which has already been influenced, against the 'inner danger.' Let the report be spread about that the Jews have betrayed the land to the enemy and have sold the people to the enemy. Your Majesty will then be acclaimed, and in executing their vengeance on their betrayers, the people will forget that they ever thought of revolution."

Circumstantial evidence indicates that the author of both suggestions is General von der Schulenberg.

THE DAWES AND THE YOUNG PLANS

The international Jewish conspiracy, in which Hitler and other anti-Semites affect to believe, has been held responsible for many evils, but most particularly for the Dawes and the Young Plans which govern the collection and payment of reparations to the victorious allies. In this welter of insane recriminations, it is usually overlooked that the Dawes and Young Plans (1924 and 1929) worked decidedly to the advantage of Germany, for after five years of financial chaos, they finally fixed an orderly method for reparations payments and greatly reduced the amounts to be collected by the allies. It was the solution of these questions that brought about a speedy evacuation of the Ruhr and the Rhineland districts. The German politicians, who never fail to point out the humiliation of allied control of German industry, have always failed to indicate that during this period, 1924-1928, the Germans borrowed, in foreign capital, almost three times as much as they paid out in reparations.

The utter absurdity of the accusation that the Jews sponsored these plans to drain Germany of its wealth is manifest. As is well known, no Jew had anything to do with the drafting or the administration of these plans. Unscrupulous journalists solemnly assure the German people, nevertheless, that General Dawes is a Jew, born with the name Davidson; that John Pierpont Morgan, the American banker who was a member of the Young committee, is a Jew who once bore the name Morgenstern; similarly S. Parker Gilbert, Agent-General for Reparations Payments, Owen D. Young, and Andrew Mellon are Jews. This myth of the enslavement of German by villainous conspirators would be comical were it not for the fact that it is believed by men like Hitler and Alfred Rosenberg who now rule Germany and control its organs of public opinion and directly determining the destiny of almost a half million Jews.

THE ALLEGED JEWISH DOMINATION OF THE PRESS

One of the commonest accusations made by all anti-Semites is that the Jews exert an undue political influence in Germany through their control or "Judaization" of the daily press. Even Myerson and Goldberg in their otherwise careful *German Jew: His Share in Modern Culture* make the statement: "The circles of criticism and of journalism in Germany were, up to the incursions of Hitler, predominantly Jewish . . . the press and the magazine world have been controlled by German Jews . . . Naturally, although these newspapers and their allied interests employed a host of Gentile workers, there were countless Jews in their offices" (p. 140). How much accuracy is there in these claims? The belief in an undue preponderance of Jews in journalism seems to be founded on the fact that the large newspaper firms of Mosse and Ullstein in Berlin and of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in Frankfort were controlled by Jews. In answer to the statement that there were countless Jews in these newspaper offices it might be pointed out that when the Mosse Press was "coordinated" and the Jews driven out by the Nazis, of the thousands who were employed in this Jewish owned concern only 118 apparently were Jewish or of Jewish origin.

It is not very difficult to gauge adequately the Jewish influence in the press. A study of the statistics published in the *Handbook of the German Daily Press* shows that in 1932, of the 4,703 newspapers listed, the liberal press—which is only in small part owned or edited by Jews—constitutes about 8 per cent of the entire German press. Only 12 out of the 4,703 newspapers are definitely listed as supporting the Democratic Party, in which most Jews are found. The liberal press which formed 19.6 per cent of all the newspapers in 1917 had fallen in 1932 to 8.3 per cent; within the same period the Rightist press had advanced from 16.8 per cent to 27.9 per cent of all the newspapers. From 1930 to 1932 the number of National Socialist newspapers increased from 43 to 123.

If the Catholic press which is normally conservative is included, then the Rightist press comprises 40.7 per cent of all the German newspapers as against the 8.3 per cent of the liberal press. Judged not merely by the number of newspapers but also by the frequency of their appearance and their total daily circulation, the Rightist press had a large numerical advantage over the liberal press, an advantage that is even more decisive when it is realized that the bulk of the so-called impartial press (2,456 newspapers) is really conservative and is fed by reactionary and anti-Jewish press-services. In 1925, of the 740 editors in responsible positions in Prussia, 41 were Jews; of the 3,475 editorial employees, 192 were Jews.*

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*Inasmuch as the government statistics do not list quarter-Jews, converts, or nonprofessing Jews, the actual number of people of Jewish "blood" is difficult to determine. The state recorded as Jews only those who admitted their Jewish origin. For this reason figures quoted herein are apt to be somewhat low in certain instances if the term Jew is to be defined by race and not merely by religion. However, the actual number of "invisible Jews" is probably much smaller than is popularly estimated. The fact that in Prussia, in 1910, thirty-nine per cent of mixed marriages were childless tends to substantiate this statement.

The real force dominating public opinion in Germany until the rise of Adolf Hitler was the reactionary German National and anti-Semitic Hugenberg Concern led by Alfred Hugenberg, member of the Reichstag and former president of the board of directors of Krupp. Through a variety of media of public expression this *Konzern* was really a secret power that influenced the thinking of practically every individual in Germany. This powerful organization was created during the war by the "heavy industries" and certain diplomatic and naval officers to convert the German masses to the idea of annexing conquered lands. It was rapidly extended until it controlled two large publishing concerns, twenty-six daily newspapers, of which four were in Berlin and two in Munich, and 150 smaller newspapers in the provinces. This by no means exhausts the resources of the Hugenberg Concern which did much to spread the myth of a Jewish Press at the very time when it was itself the most powerful institution for moulding public opinion in all Germany.

It owned a whole series of important magazines and, far more to the point, at least ten news-services supplying news to the entire German press. The Telegraph Union alone fed 1,200 newspapers. The provincial papers were not only influenced through this source of news but were further dominated through the creation of a powerful advertising corporation for the distribution of the advertisements upon which the papers were dependent for their very existence. Special banks and holding companies were created to support this newspaper trust, and those of the masses who did not read its papers and magazines saw its moving pictures, produced by the Ufa, Deulig, Opel, and the Emelka which they either controlled or influenced. This truly widespread power became even more extensive when Hugo Stinnes, who had also entered the publishing field, linked his almost fabulous fortune and interests to those of the Hugenberg group through a series of interlocking directorates. There was no corner or village of Germany that could escape the political influence of this farflung empire of print. It is not surprising, therefore, that the reactionary forces which had dominated Germany before the War became part of a Rightist governmental bloc as early as January, 1925, and in April of that year helped elect Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg president of the German Republic.

THE JEW IN PUBLIC OFFICE

Another common charge against the German Jews is that they are overrunning and "Judaizing" the government offices. Ambassador Luther, who in January, 1925, had headed the first Rightist cabinet in Germany since the War, declared in an address at Mount Vernon, New York, that the anti-Jewish feeling in Germany was due to the fact that nearly 50 per cent of the government officials were Jews, although the Jews constituted but one per cent of the total population (*The New York Times,* May 25, 1933).

The palpable falsity of the Nazi accusations becomes apparent in the face of the fact that in Prussia, in 1925, there were 1,657,022 government officials of whom only 5,446 were Jews. Although they comprise 1.06 per cent of the total population in Prussia, they occupied not 50 per cent of the positions but only three-tenths of one per cent (0.3 per cent).

It should also be borne in mind that since 1925, when these statistics were taken, the percentage of Jews in office has declined due to the growing influence of the nationalists in the government. Of the 500 federal officials of highest rank in Germany only fifteen were Jews or of Jewish origin. In Prussia, among the twelve provincial governors (*Oberpräsidenten*) one was of Jewish descent; among the thirty-five sub-governors (*Regierungspräsidenten*) there was not a single Jew, and among over 400 district governors *(Landräte)* there was but one Jew.

Outside of Rudolf Hilferding (not a professing Jew), no Jew had held office in the national or state cabinets for several years. In the twenty cabinets of the German Republic from Scheidemann

(1919) through Schleicher (1933), comprising 260 or more cabinet members, there were only seven members of Jewish origin, and of these seven, only two were professing Jews. Ever since 1920 there has not been a single Jew in the cabinets of Prussia or Bavaria, the two largest states in the Republic.

In the German Reichstag elected July 31, 1932, there were 608 deputies, one of whom was a professing Jew while thirteen others were known to be of Jewish birth. Of these fourteen, twelve were Social Democrats out of a total of 133 socialistic deputies; *one* of the eighty-nine communists was a Jew, and one deputy was a State Party (Democratic) man. Among the 423 delegates elected to the Prussian state legislature on April 24, 1932, there were four Jews (socialists), two of whom professed the Jewish faith. Among the 5,980,240 Germans who voted the communist ticket (November, 1932) it is questionable whether there were more than a handful of Jews. Communism flourishes in the industrial proletariat; most of the 350,000 Jewish voters in Germany are *petit-bourgeois* and anti-Marxian. The German Jews as a whole are out of sympathy with a politico-economic philosophy that threatens both their religion and their business traditions.

THE "INVASION" OF THE EAST EUROPEAN JEWS

One of the most frequently repeated slogans of the Nazi party was that it would save Germany from being overrun by East European Jews (Polish, Russian, etc.) who were invading the land in large numbers, receiving the franchise from the socialist authorities, and exercising an undue influence on the political and economic life of the German state. This attack was always sure of eliciting a response among the apprehensive unemployed. In answer to an interpellation made in the Prussian Diet in 1930, the Minister of the Interior stated that 7,654 East Europeans of non-German origin (most of whom were probably Jews) had been admitted as citizens in Prussia from 1919-1930. In 1933, the official (National Socialist) Conti Press Bureau stated that 12,500

East European Jews had been naturalized in Germany since the War. The menace of the political influence of 12,500 East European Jewish voters among 45,000,000 voters is too absurd to discuss.

There was never any mass migration of East European Jews into Germany. In modern times this land has been too densely populated to encourage the immigration and naturalization of newcomers. One of the most effective means used by Germany to discourage immigration has been to make naturalization extremely difficult. After 1927, Prussia required ten years' residence before she permitted an East European of non-German origin to apply for citizenship.

The number of alien Jews living in post-War Germany never exceeded 99,000. These Jews came from about fifty different lands, the majority from the Slavonic states of Europe. Thousands of these had been living in Germany for a generation. Many, no doubt, were natives of Germany but could not become citizens because of the stringent naturalization laws which were administered by the old bureaucracy still in power. Quite a number of these aliens, 20,000 at least, did not come in as voluntary immigrants. Some were forcibly deported from Lithuania or Poland during the War by the German army; others were engaged to work in Germany on six-months' contracts but were forcibly detained on the expiration of this period. Most of these men, brought in or invited in during the War, worked in the mines producing coal for the munitions factories and steel plants. Many were put to work on the farms.

After the close of the War and the ensuing economic depression, many of these alien Jews, who saw no future for themselves in Germany, returned home or migrated to foreign lands. In 1933, before Hitler came to power, there was a maximum of about 80,000 alien Jews out of a total of about 560,000 Jews and about 65,300,000 general population. These alien Jews were thus about eight one-hundredths of one per cent (0.08 per cent) of the total German population. Of these aliens, most of whom are East Europeans, 27.9 per cent are engaged in industry, primarily as workers in the manufacture of furs, cigarettes, shoes, mechanical and optical instruments, and clothing. The story of an East European Jewish menace is as unfounded as the whole myth of Jewish political domination in Germany.

An impartial analysis of the facts discloses that the Jews, less than one per cent of the total German population, have always associated themselves with the moderate, liberal parties. On the one side, economic status has kept the Jewish masses out of the socialist and communist parties; anti-Semitic prejudice has, on the other, kept them out of the nationalist Rightist parties; individual Jews, however, have been active in the socialist party. The cry that Germany, up to 1933, was controlled politically by an international Jewish clique was a deliberate attempt on the part of monarchical and chauvinistic revolutionaries and industrial magnates to discredit the German Republic in the minds of its followers and to prepare them for its overthrow or deliberalization. The constant repetition of these charges by the Nazis since their accession to power in March, 1933, has been for the sole purpose of finding some sort of excuse, flimsy though it be, for their anti-Jewish legislation. The charges of Jewish political domination are so absurd that it is difficult to imagine that any intelligent anti-Semite has ever really believed them. One suspects that this accusation has not even the virtue of sincerity; the anti-Semite leaders cannot be adjudged so stupid.

* * *

Certain individuals have made the statement that every political, economic, or cultural act of the Jew in Germany is of a corrosive character. The only answer to such a pronouncement is a careful study of the participation of the Jewish citizen in the life of his community and state. We have just finished our study of the Jew in German political life. Let us now seek to determine what part the Jew has played in the economic life of the Empire and the new Republic.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF GERMAN JEWRY

HOW THE MEDIEVAL GERMAN JEW MADE A LIVING

PRIOR to the First Crusade (1096), the Jews of the Frankish and German lands were traders who carried their merchandise, mostly articles of luxury, from country to country, from town to town, and from manor to manor. Their customers were, for the most part, the nobles and the wealthier churchmen. Frequently Jews traded with the Slavic East and even the Orient.

As the attacks upon the Jews became increasingly frequent during the period of the Crusades, many of them turned to money-lending. There were several reasons for this change of occupation from trade to finance. As Europe developed, money became increasingly more important as a medium of exchange. Money also represented a more mobile and liquid form of wealth, an important consideration for a persecuted people. Finally, money-lending was a more lucrative economic activity. There was relatively little competition, for the canon law forbade Christians to exact interest. Later, when legislation excluded Jews from owning land and from membership in the craft and merchant guilds, money-lending was one of the few occupations that remained open to them.

The interest rates were high due to the uncertainty of economic and political conditions and to the heavy taxation. The persecution to which the Jews were subjected in medieval Germany served particularly to keep the interest rate high. Jews had to have money to satisfy the increasing demands made on them by the authorities, and as the state pressed the Jew, the Jew in turn pressed his creditors. Time and again this led to extremely unfortunate consequences for the Jews. When a creditor was too hard-pressed, massacre and expulsion frequently suggested themselves as easy solutions to an otherwise very difficult problem.

Naturally, not all Jews were money-lenders: many were bakers, tailors, and butchers serving the local Jewish community. Some managed estates for the lords; others looked after their finances. Many Jews were merchants. In the earlier years, a few Jews had vineyards, plots, or farms of their own, but after the Black Death, in 1349, the state began systematically to forbid them to purchase farm lands.

The severe persecutions during the Black Death were catastrophic in German Jewish life. Not only were thousands killed, but their wealth was confiscated or destroyed. Expulsions and confiscations now became so frequent that by the middle of the sixteenth century there were very few Jews left in the various German lands. A new class had arisen to supply the service previously rendered by the Jews and they could now be dispensed with. Powerful, Catholic international bankers like the Fuggers were, by this time, in position to supply the state with all the funds it needed in an orderly and business-like fashion.

It is now recognized that the medieval German Jew made a distinct contribution to the economic life of his land. In the early Middle Ages, he brought merchandise to the raw, unsettled frontier states; in the later centuries, as a banker and money-lender, he made possible the growth and development of business activities. It was the funds he advanced and the bills of exchange he employed that strengthened manorial life, helped further commerce and trade in the growing towns, and supplied the princes with money to carry on their governments.

THE WEALTHY JEW IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Throughout the latter part of the Middle Ages, the Jew was looked upon, at best, as a necessary evil, but beginning with the seventeenth century he was regarded somewhat more sympathetically. The new German territorial states had to reestablish themselves upon a sound economic basis. Most of them had suffered a continuous drain upon their resources in the long-drawn out wars of religion in which they had engaged for over a century. Besides, they were ambitious to create armies, to establish a bureaucracy, and to begin to extend the sphere of their power and influence.

All this required money. Wealthy Jews were accordingly invited into these states because it was felt that the Jews could create wealth. They were given many economic opportunities in the hope that they would create credit, stimulate trade, encourage commerce, and introduce manufactures. It was also hoped that non-Jews would learn from Jews the business of being business men. The more capable of these Jewish business men who had contacts with the ruling princes advanced from positions as financial agents, army contractors, and jewel purveyors to the more important court positions of financial advisors and administrators. Their activities in these positions prepared the way for the transition to the more rational fiscal system of the modern state.

Joseph Süss Oppenheimer (d. 1738), so well known through Lion Feuchtwanger's vivid novel, *Power,* was one of the more famous of these Court-Jews. The last of these romantic figures was Israel Jacobson (1768-1828), the founder of the Reform Movement in Judaism. It was these wealthy Court-Jews who first acquired secular education and culture. It was they who began the struggle for civil emancipation which attained its initial success in 1812 and which, by 1871, witnessed the opening of nearly all economic and professional opportunities to Jews.

HOW THE POOR JEW MADE A LIVING BEFORE THE AGE OF EMANCIPATION

The poorer Jews who survived the medieval persecutions or who crept into the German principalities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were mostly hawkers, peddlers, and pawnbrokers. Many frequented the villages, hamlets, and farms, bartering country products for the merchandise and luxuries of the cities. These itinerant Jewish traders, though they were frequently frowned upon by the state, performed several notable functions. They purchased the farmers' products at a better price than the monopolistically organized townsmen would offer. They brought the manufacturers' wares to the peasant's very door. The monopoly of the city guilds having been broken, they helped to establish free trade and to extend competition, bringing cheaper prices and a higher standard of living.

In spite of their value to the growing state the poorer Jews were under constant surveillance. They could own no land, they were seldom allowed to possess homes, and they were forbidden admission to most of the crafts. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the last restriction in the crafts was finally removed. In the first decade of the nineteenth century the attempt of Israel Jacobson to teach trades to young Jews met with bitter opposition from the Christian craftsmen in the Brunswick duchy.

THE VOCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRUSSIAN JEWRY IN 1813

The following table gives a fairly accurate picture of the structure of Jewish economic life in Prussia at the beginning of the nineteenth century (1813).

Bankers, manufacturers, and large scale traders	2.0	per cent
Medium traders	8.0	” ”
Petty traders	40.0	” ”
Peddlers	20.0	” ”
Total percentage of Jews engaged in trade	70.0	per cent
Craftsmen	7.0	” ”
Domestic servants	10.0	” ”
Clergy and synagogue employees	2.0	” ”
Professional men	1.0	” ”
People without vocation, beggars, etc.	10.0	” ”
Total	100.0	per cent

The occupational structure reflected here is of very different character from that of the non-Jewish Prussians most of whom were in agriculture and the crafts. The absence of Jewish farm laborers and industrial workers and the abnormally high percentage of Jews engaged in trade were due, in large part, to Prussian legislation which then closed many fields of occupation to Jews.

VOCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRUSSIAN JEWRY FORTY YEARS LATER

If we compare the occupational distribution of the Jew in 1852 with the figures given in the preceding section, we note certain marked changes.

The fruits of civil and political emancipation in 1812 included the opportunity of a more widespread choice of occupation. Instead of the limitations which crowded most Jews into peddling and the petty trades, the Jew, for the first time in centuries, had the opportunity to express himself more freely in trade, commerce, industry, and credit. While the shift came about rather gradually, since certain vocations (among them civil service, membership in craftsmen's guilds, and some professions) were still closed to him, we find that by 1852 the total percentage of Jews engaged in trade had fallen from 70% to 51.5% while the percentage in crafts and industries had risen from 7% to 19.4%.

Peddlers decreased in proportions from 20% to 6.4%. As restrictions against Jews were removed, this class of "tradesman" found employment in the newly opened fields as wage-earners and white-collar workers. The improvement of the social and economic status of the Jew in Germany was accompanied by the decline and disappearance of the Jewish hawker. This condition has continued unabated. From 6.4% in 1852 the number of Jewish peddlers had decreased to 1.61% in 1925, which is less than the percentage of peddlers among the non-Jewish population (1.78%).

While most of the Jewish wage-earners in the beginning of the nineteenth century were domestic servants, by 1852 they were largely business employees and trade-apprentices. Their number had, meanwhile, doubled. That Jews made a definite effort to adjust themselves to the normal German vocational structure, once restrictions were removed, can readily be seen from the above figures. The over-large proportion engaged in trade steadily declined, while increasing numbers engaged in industry, the crafts, and the professions.

The disparity between the Jewish and non-Jewish proportions remained, however, in some fields. In 1852 only 2.0% of the Christian Germans were engaged in commerce, while 24.6% of them were engaged in the crafts and industries.

The crafts and professions were not opened to Jews until 1848. While the Jews were quick to avail themselves of opportunities to become craftsmen, as the statistics prove, their eagerness to enter the professions met with serious obstacles. The old bureaucracy, strongly entrenched, silently sabotaged the efforts of Jews to enter some of the professions or to become servants of the state. Official restrictions were gone—but not restricting officials. It was not until the fourteen years of the Republic (1919-1933) that the Jew could take full advantage of the opportunities for professional education, and even then he still encountered considerable resistance from the bureaucracy. From 1.0% in the professions in 1813, the percentage rose over a period of forty years to 3.5% in 1852, and from then to 1925 climbed to 8.7% (Prussia).

Whatever influence Jews have exerted upon the economic life of Germany has been the result of the activity and preeminence of individuals, not of the Jewish group as a whole. Constituting at no time more than 1.20% (1871) of the total German population, it is obvious that its influence was qualitative rather than quantitative. In order to evaluate this influence it is necessary to list those individual Jews who have become leaders in the financial, commercial, or industrial life of Germany, and to describe, if only briefly, their activity. In this manner we can more accurately gauge their contributions to the economic life of the country.

JEWS AS BANKERS

Though the greatest triumphs of the House of Rothschild have been in England and France rather than in their native city of Frankfort on the Main, the fact that this great banking house stems from Germany and had a branch there warrants its inclusion in this survey. The Rothschilds were easily the leading private bankers of the first half of the nineteenth century. The five sons of the founder were established by him in five important European capitals. In this fashion, this family of brilliant financiers were enabled to cope successfully with intensive competition and to derive the benefits of international as compared with strictly local operations.

The House of Rothschild gained their financial start by transmitting subsidies to the anti-Napoleonic forces. They then turned their energies to the task of supplying the moneys needed by the European governments during the period of reconstruction. By encouraging the people to buy government bonds, they opened new sources of credit to the various states and enabled them to finance themselves adequately without resorting to radical measures. This represented a distinct contribution to government finance and has been employed increasingly ever since by all modern states.

Besides the Rothschilds, there were a number of other outstanding firms operating in Germany. The Mendelssohn firm, descendants of Moses Mendelssohn, a great leader of German Jewry, is regarded by many as a Jewish banking firm although the family has been lost to Judaism for a number of generations. While it is true that this firm frequently employs executives who are of Jewish origin, its "Jewishness" can be gauged from the fact that it acted as the chief German financial agent of the czarist regime throughout the period when the pogroms were in progress.

The Mendelssohn firm was the most important private banking concern in Berlin. The Bleichroeders have also played an important rôle in that city, and there are numerous firms in other cities besides Berlin, that have rendered conspicuous banking service to Germany, such as the Speyers (Frankfort), the Wassermanns (Bamberg), the Hirsches (Munich), the Warburgs (Hamburg), and others.

Gerson Bleichroeder (d. 1893) was the court banker to Kaiser William I and was also a trusted adviser of Bismarck. It was he who financed the war of 1866 with Austria and it was he who, in 1871, served as a German expert in determining the reparations payments which France was compelled to pay.

Max Warburg (b. 1867) of the firm of M. M. Warburg & Co., brother of Felix Warburg of New York and the late Paul Warburg, is an authority on German and international finance. He was a member of the Boards of the Reichsbank and the Hamburg-American Line and was also adviser to the German government at the Versailles Peace Conference. In the later period, when the problems of reparations and currency began to disturb the young German Republic, he was frequently called in as an expert of recognized standing and authority.

Another member of the Warburg firm, Carl J. Melchior (1871-1933), was even more prominent in his services to the German Republic. Throughout the War he was employed as an economic expert in the negotiations of the German government with Russia and Roumania. In 1918-1919 he was chairman of the finance section of the German Armistice Commission and was one of the six German delegates at Versailles. It was in no small degree due to his efforts that the reparations have been progressively scaled down since the Versailles treaty and are now practically abolished. As First Vice-President of the World Bank, he was in a position to render distinguished service to Germany in matters of finance.

With the advent of Hitler, Melchior was relieved of his duties as a German member of the board of the World Bank for International Settlements and his place was taken by the anti-Semitic banker, Kurt von Schroeder. Melchior died soon afterward.

The male line of the Rothschilds has died out in Germany; some of the Mendelssohns have not been Jews for a century; the Bleichroeders are no longer Jews. The House of Warburg is still Jewish and interested in the fate of its fellow Jews.

Despite the importance of the few firms mentioned, they must be regarded as exceptional rather than typical, for the era of private banking in Germany has passed. Ever since the middle of the last century, the private bank has declined as a factor in German finance. While, in its time, the private bank did much to create and further the great industrial and commercial enterprises of Germany, it lacked sufficient capital to keep pace with the mighty strides made by industrial enterprises in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The tremendous development of commerce and industry in this period necessitated a new type of financial organization—the joint-stock bank. The first important institution of this type was established in Paris in 1852. It was called the *Crédit Mobilier* and was organized by the Sephardic brothers Pereire with the approval of the Jewish Finance Minister, Achille Fould. The Pereires were St. Simonists, Utopian Socialists. They hoped, through the financing of vast industrial undertakings, to raise the social and economic status of the masses. This type of bank which was able to amass enormous resources for the purposes of industry and commerce, soon spread to all countries and became the typical financial foundation for the commercial and industrial structure.

It was quite natural that, as the private banks bowed to these new public banks, the training, experience, and wisdom of private bankers should have been sought by the new organizations. Accordingly we find individual Jews frequently called in to serve the newer institutions. Their status in these institutions was, of course, different: in their own banks they were sufficient unto themselves, while in the public banks they were merely the agents of a board of directors. Nevertheless, their financial ability was strikingly evident in the work they did to build up these banks into institutions of great strength and power.

Outside of the Reichsbank, there are few institutions in Germany more important than the "D" banks—the *Disconto-Gesellschaft* and the *Deutsche Bank* (now united), the *Dresdner Bank*, and the *Darmstädter und Nationalbank* (which have also amalgamated). The *Disconto-Gesellschaft* was materially aided by the Solomonsohn family. Adolf Solomonsohn (1831-1919) created branch offices in the German provinces, financed the German mining industry, and promoted the famous Gotthard Pass Railroad which joins Italy with Germany by cutting through the Swiss Alps. His son George (b. 1869), after a visit to the United States where he observed the growing social anti-Semitism, came to the conclusion that the Jew cannot maintain himself as a Jew in the modern environment but must completely assimilate himself if he desires to remain in contact with the world. He put his conviction into practice, leaving Judaism and adopting the name Solmssen. He has been active in the *Disconto-Gesellschaft* since 1911 and has also been interested in the German-Atlantic Telegraph Company, a transatlantic cable company. When, in 1929, the *Disconto* joined forces with the *Deutsche Bank*, Solmssen became one of the joint executives. Arthur Solomonsohn (d. 1930), a nephew of Adolf, carried on his uncle's work and was active in financing the mining, potash, shipping, and electrical industries.

The Wassermann family of Bamberg was another famous Jewish banking family which participated in the formation and development of the new type of joint-stock bank. At the amalgamation of the *Disconto* and the *Deutsche Bank* referred to above, Oscar Wassermann of the *Deutsche Bank* was made one of the joint executives along with George Solmssen. He has been the leading spirit of the *Deutsche Bank* since 1912. He has been on the board of the Reichsbank as well as on the board of many important industrial and commercial undertakings. Wassermann is very active in German Jewish affairs and is one of the creators of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Another notable figure in the history of the *Deutsche Bank* is Max Steinthal (b. 1850) who at the age of twenty-two was already a member of its Board. He has since had a most distinguished, economic career. Through the agency of the bank he has helped reorganize or develop the Mannesmann Pipe Co., the Prussian Mortgage Bank, the Berlin Subway and Elevated Company, and a number of other companies engaged primarily in building Berlin subdivisions. He has also been very active in financing the nitrogen industry in Germany. After the union of the *Disconto* and the *Deutsche Bank* he became one of the two co-presidents of the joint Board.

Jakob Goldschmidt (b. 1882) is another banker who has had a most distinguished career. As president of the *Darmstädter und Nationalbank* (*Danat*), he was an instrumental force in rebuilding German business after the War. At one time he was a director in a hundred or more major corporations in Germany. Among his notable achievements are the liquidation of the huge Stinnes interests and the financing of the United Steel Works, the German steel trust. With the growing economic depression in Germany, his bank became heavily involved and he resigned his position. His loss was bitterly felt in the field of Jewish scholarship for he was the chief financial supporter of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* which now remains a torso of ten volumes.

JEWS IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

In the field of industry, Emil Rathenau (1838-1915) occupies an important niche. Having been impressed, during visits to the United States (1876) and the Paris expositions (1878 and 1881), with the tremendous new advances in electrical development, he returned to Germany to encourage the widespread use of telephones and electric lighting. Through the *AEG*, the General Electric Company, one of the largest concerns of its type in Europe, he helped make Germany a center for electro-technical products. He also encouraged wireless telegraphy and the manufacture of various types of electrical machines. Count Harry Kessler believes that he was the most representative figure in German industry because of his revolutionary innovations in mass production and consumption (*Walther Rathenau,* p. 16).

His work was carried on by his son Walther (1867-1922), who was not only an able manufacturer and financier, but, as we have previously seen, a statesman and thinker of quality.

Ludwig Loewe was another industrialist who was strongly under American influence in matters of technique. Loewe was one of the leaders of the Progressive Party and like Eduard Lasker was very much interested in social legislation for the workers. At one time he was secretary to Ferdinand Lassalle, the founder of the first workingman's party in Germany. Loewe created one of the greatest machine and armament factories in Germany which was ably administered and expanded, after his death in 1886, by his younger brother Isidor.

Isidor Loewe was the victim of a vitriolic attack launched by the notorious anti-Semite, Hermann Ahlwardt, who, in his *Judenflinten* (Jewish guns), accused him of delivering to the state faulty weapons which were more dangerous to their bearers than to the enemy (1892). An official investigation completely exonerated Loewe, and Ahlwardt was sentenced to five months in jail. It was only a few years after this that Ahlwardt, who had almost reached the end of his rope in Germany, came to the United States to preach his gospel of Semitic inferiority. Fearing attack from the incensed Jews of New York City he appealed for protection to its vigorous Police Commissioner, Theodore Roosevelt. The latter, with fitting and ironical cleverness, supplied as a guard for Ahlwardt a detail of Jewish policemen.

A prominent figure in the organization of the copper and brass industries was Aron Hirsch, the first of this famous Halberstadt family to change from commercial to industrial activity. The Hirsch family has been interested in copper, brass, and other metals since 1805. The family was noted for its affiliations with orthodox Jewry.

The most distinguished Jew in the pre-War period was unquestionably Albert Ballin (b. 1857). As early as 1886 he became associated with the Hamburg-American Line. It is unquestionably due to his genius that this company developed the greatest shipping business in Germany and, until the War, stood out as the finest transoceanic line in the world. He fought hard to keep Germany at peace with England in July, 1914, and conferred with Haldane, Churchill, and Grey in that fateful month. They promised him peace, but the circumstances proved beyond their power to control. Ballin then applied his tremendous organizing ability to the War. He became one of the heads of the Central Purchasing Company, a War corporation that purchased six and a half billion marks of supplies for blockaded Germany. He tried to keep Italy from declaring war; he begged the German leaders to avert the impending conflict with the United States and in 1917 made a desperate attempt to gain peace for Germany before it was too late. It was all in vain, however. The annexation politicians poisoned the Kaiser's mind against Ballin, and he refused to see his old friend. When the end for Germany was approaching, Hugo Stinnes suggested that Ballin be called in to tell the Kaiser the truth. This was September 5, 1918. The Kaiser, misinformed by the court clique, refused to recognize the desperateness of the situation and Ballin left him with his fears for the worst augmented. In November, 1918, the liberals determined that Ballin was the man to make peace with the Entente. This was Saturday, the second of the month. On the ninth, the day of the German revolution, he was found unconscious in his office from an overdose of a sleeping potion. It was probably suicide.

Upper Silesian industry owes a great deal to individual Jewish business men. In this region Jews were among the creators of the iron, steel, and coal industries. One of the last of the creative industrial pioneers in this area was Eduard Arnhold (1849-1925), an outstanding leader in the coal industry of Upper Silesia and a prominent figure in the machine and chemical industries. The government put him on the Board of the Reichsbank and frequently called him into consultation as an expert in matters economic.

The Upper Silesian area differs from the Rhine-Westphalian section where the Jews have played little part in the great steel industry which is so intimately associated with the names of Krupp and von Thyssen. (The latter is one of the powers behind the Hitler throne.) Notable exceptions in the Rhine-Westphalian areas are Ottmar Strauss, a partner of the powerful Catholic industrialist, Otto Wolf, and Paul Silverberg, the organizer of the brown coal (lignite) industry. Silverberg was president of the Chamber of Commerce in Cologne until the Nazis came to power.

It is by no means uncommon to find Jews active in the development of railroading. In the United States, Kuhn, Loeb and Company are well-known for their work in the rehabilitation of the Union Pacific Railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio, and a half dozen other lines. In earlier days, the Rothschilds and the famous philanthropist, Baron de Hirsch, were noted for their railroad interests and activities in Europe. In Germany today, Julius Berger (b. 1862) is one of the outstanding railroad and tunnel builders and construction contractors. He has built railroads and constructed harbors in Germany, in South America, and in the Near East. The international firm of Orenstein and Koppel, created largely through the efforts of Benno Orenstein (1851-1926), has for many years specialized in railroad equipment, such as locomotives, coaches, railroad signal apparatus, transportable steel narrow-gauge railroads for industrial purposes, etc. Koppel, a factory town near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is named after Arthur Koppel, one of the founders of this firm.

The most spectacular career among this railroad building group was that of Bethel Henry Strousberg (1823-1884), a career which is in some respects reminiscent of those of the Vanderbilts, Goulds, and their contemporaries—the great speculators and plungers of the 'sixties and the 'seventies in the United States. Strousberg, who was converted to Christianity in England (hence the name Bethel Henry), built railroads in northern Germany, Hungary, and Roumania. Anticipating by many years the great vertical trusts of Hugo Stinnes and Henry Ford, he acquired factories, mines, and whole industries which produced the materials used in his construction projects. His holdings were large and at one time, it is said, he employed 100,000 men. One of the rather interesting methods to which he resorted in financing his projects—a method now in common use—was to invite his subcontractors to accept shares in the enterprise they were serving as payment for the services they rendered. Eduard Lasker, in the early 'seventies, vigorously attacked the railroad promoters of the Strousberg type. When Strousberg's enterprises crashed, the plunger became the chief target of a fierce attack launched by the leaders of the rising anti-Semitic movement. He died bankrupt and disgraced; yet there can be no doubt that his many and widespread activities aided materially in the economic development of Germany.

The principles of cooperation, concentration, and rationalization in industry, which are so characteristic of our present capitalistic structure, have also manifested themselves in the creation of large department stores, reflecting American influence. Oskar and Leonhard Tietz were the leaders in this type of commercial undertaking in Germany. Oskar Tietz (1858-1923) made radical changes in the plan on which German retail stores were conducted. He introduced the method of buying directly from the factory and selling for cash and abolished haggling by establishing a fixed price for every article. He created a chain of department stores operating on this plan all over the country: there were nine of them in Berlin and eight in other towns. Leonhard, his older brother (1849-1914), created a similar type of organization that had forty-three branches and 167 auxiliary organizations in 1929 and employed 15,000 people in the retail branches alone. Both Tietz organizations were noted for their welfare work among their employees.

The textile and garment industry is one in which Jews have been interested for hundreds of years. It is possible to trace Jewish participation in this industry back through the Middle Ages to the Jewish community in Northern Egypt in the Hellenistic and Roman days. In Germany today (as in the United States, to a considerable extent), the garment industry is considered distinctly "Jewish." This is because 44 per cent of all Jews in industry are in the garment trades. But it might be well to bear in mind that this 44 per cent represents only 21,881 Jews out of a total of 953,351 persons (Jews and non-Jews), engaged in this branch of manufacturing. The Jews, all told, constitute but 2.3 per cent of the entire garment industry (Prussia, 1925). As early as the eighteenth century the first Jewish industrialists were manufacturers of and dealers in cloth, silks, velvets, and laces.

Moses Mendelssohn made his living not through his philosophy, but through his silks. A generation later, a Jewish manufacturer by the name of Liebermann (grandfather to both Walther Rathenau and Max Liebermann) took credit for introducing calico-printing by machinery into Prussia, thus breaking the English monopoly of this type of goods. Liebermann evidently had a wholesome respect for himself, much like that German, whom the English poet met at Frankfort, who doffed his hat every time he mentioned his own name. Old Liebermann was once presented at the Prussian court to Frederick William III who asked which Liebermann he was. "The Liebermann who drove the English from the Continent," he replied. Jews have also been manufacturers of men's and women's cloaks, suits and garments, underwear, linens, carpets, textiles, curtains, furs, hats, caps, shoes, and other leather wearables.

Many Jews were in the grain and food trades; others were active in the distillery and brewery business. The Schultheiss-Patzenhofer brewing syndicate, the largest in Europe, was headed by Walter Sobernheim, a member of a most distinguished Jewish family. Kurt Sobernheim, a second brother, was one of the leaders in the *Commerz- und Privatbank* and was on the Board of the Reichsbank until the National Socialists came to power. Moritz, a third brother, who died in 1933, was an eminent Orientalist. He served also as *rapporteur* for Jewish matters in the German Foreign Office.

Some of the earliest chemical firms were owned by Jews. The I. G. Farbenindustrie, now the largest dye firm in the world, originally numbered Jews among its founders. Other industries and fields in which Jews are interested are cigarettes, hides, feathers, real estate, shipping (Kunstmann family), amber (Moritz Becker), precious jewels, book publishing, porcelain (Rosenthal), express companies, and exporting and importing.

THE OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN OF GERMAN JEWRY IN 1925

The above study is a qualitative one: it reflects the advantages which the German economy has derived from the efforts of individual Jews. A quantitative study dealing with the mass of Jews, based on the last published census (1925), will help give us a clearer picture of their occupational distribution and of their social differentiation within this structure. Possibly such a study may enable us in part to understand the reaction of the Christian Germans to the Jewish Germans.

In 1925, there were in Prussia, where over 70% of all German Jews now live, 225,523 Prussian Jews gainfully employed. Of these, 111,384 (49.3%) were in commerce and banking; 49,318 (21.9%) were in industry and the crafts; 3,324 (1.5%) were in agriculture; and 19,621 (8.7%) were in professions and in the health, social, and civil services. It will be remembered that in 1852 the percentage in commerce was 51.5; in industry and the crafts it was 19.4%; and in the professions, 3.5%. We see, thus, that the major changes in the intervening 75 years have been slight (2.0%) fluctuations in the first two categories, and an increase of about 5% in the professions.

It is interesting to see how the occupational pattern of the Jew compares with the normal non-Jewish occupational pattern in Prussia (1925). The figures show that there were 2,164,398 non-Jews (9.8%) in commerce and credit; 7,722,481 (36.7%) in industry and the crafts; 5,589,820 (26.6%) in agriculture; and 1,257,843 (6.0%) in the professional services. The Jew has thus a somewhat larger percentage than the general population in the professions (8.7% compared to 6.0%); only a fraction as many as the general population in agriculture (1.5% compared to 26.6%); about three-fifths as many as the non-Jews in industry (21.9% compared to 36.7%); and about five times as many, proportionately, in commerce and credit (49.3% compared to 9.8%).

In the various subdivisions of commerce and credit, however, there is no even distribution of Jewish interests. About 80% of all Jews in this field were engaged in the buying and selling of wares. Grouping owners, executives, and employees together we find that 3.84% of all people engaged in banking in Prussia in 1925 were Jews, but it is interesting to note, too, that this represents a decline from 22.0% in 1882. In 1895, twenty-two per cent of all commercial agents and clerks in Prussia were Jews; in 1925 the percentage was 9.44. Of the 69,234 people employed in the insurance business only 943 were Jewish. Also in the important hotel traffic relatively few Jews were employed. It would seem that the Jews have the tendency to concentrate very heavily in certain branches of commerce and to be absent from others. This is, to a certain extent, the result of historic circumstances.

Among the seventeen branches of industry, Jews are concentrated largely in two: clothing and food, which include over 60.0% of all Jews engaged in industry. It is only in these two and in the leather industry that Jews are engaged proportionately more than the general population.

There were eighteen different vocations listed among the "professions" in Prussia in 1925.* Although the Jews constitute 1.06% of the population, they contribute 2.86% of the total professional men. (This figure does not include civil, religious, and military officials, social service workers, or unskilled workers in all of the professional fields, the grand total of which constitutes 8.7% of all gainfully employed.) But here, too, there is a concentration in only two of the eighteen vocations: law and medicine. Of all Jews engaged in the professions 44.0% were in these two; of all Christians in the professions only 7.0% were in law and medicine. Of the 8,559 lawyers in Prussia, 2,239 (26.1%) were Jews; of the 28,979 doctors in Prussia, 4,505 (15.5%) were Jews. Most of the Prussian Jewish doctors and lawyers were concentrated in Berlin where there is a large Jewish community (172,672 in 1925), and where exists the greater general economic opportunity of a city of millions. As a result of this concentration of Prussian Jewish lawyers in Berlin, there were actually more Jews than non-Jews practicing law in this one city. In the rest of Germany the Jewish lawyers were outnumbered almost thirteen to one. The figures for all of Germany show that of 13,578 lawyers in 1925, about 2,900 (21.4%) were Jews, while in 1933, of about 16,000 lawyers, 3,500 (21.9%) were Jewish. There were in all of Germany (1933) 52,000 physicians of whom 8,000 (15.4%) were Jews. Of the 1,657,022 civil servants in the Prussian state, only 5,446, or 0.3% were Jews (1925).

Of the 186,520 teachers in the Prussian public schools, only 1,351 (0.8%) were Jewish. This does not include university instructors. How many of these were there? It has been estimated by the anonymous but competent author of the "Jews in the Professions in Germany" that there was a maximum of 235 Jewish teachers in the universities, not including converts or descendants of Jews. Assuming that the latter are as numerous as the professing Jews we would reach an absolute maximum of about 500 university instructors in the German Republic which, in 1932, reported a total of 6,039 university teachers. The author of the "Jews in the Professions in Germany" adds:

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*For detailed comparative statistics see Appendix I.

> "It should be noted that Jewish teachers in the higher institutions belonged chiefly to the Medical and Law Schools, but were less prominent in the other faculties. The high percentage of Jews in these professions is to be accounted for largely by their superior attainments, which in many cases were of world-wide repute. It should also be pointed out that these men were in no sense forced upon the Universities, which had complete freedom of choice in the matter. Hence there is no ground for talking either of a 'Judaizing' of the higher educational institutions or of a 'systematic Jewish invasion of the University posts.'"

THE SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN JEWS

The Jews differ also in their social stratification from the non-Jews. Statistics for a large part of Germany indicate that 16.6% of all gainfully employed non-Jews are non-dependents (work for themselves), but 49.7% of the Jews are non-dependents; 50.3% of the Jews are employees, but 83.4% of the non-Jews are employees. It is interesting to trace the striking shifts of a social character that have been going on in Prussia, for instance, during the last hundred years or more. Thus, the number of Jews in the employee class in Prussia in 1813 was about 20% at the most; in 1852 the number rose to 28.6% and in 1925 to 51.7%.

Within the employee group, however, there is this difference between Jew and non-Jew. The bulk of the Jewish employees are white-collar workers, while the mass of the Gentiles in the same category are laborers. It should be borne in mind, however, that we are dealing with about 26,000,000 gainfully employed Christian Germans over against about 231,000 gainfully employed Jewish Germans.

Of all Jews gainfully employed in Prussia, 26% were women; of Christians 34.3% were women. But here, too, there are decided differences in their social distribution: 23% of the Jewesses worked on their own account as against only 6.4% of the non-Jews. Of the female Jewish employees a large percentage were engaged in white-collar jobs; the Gentile women are largely laborers and domestic servants.

* * *

The fact that it was a German town that gave birth to the Rothschilds, the most famous European banking dynasty of the nineteenth century, has led many to think of present day Germany as a great Jewish financial center. It seems to have escaped many that London and New York, not Frankfort, have been the great money markets for generations. As we have seen there are no more Rothschilds in the direct succession in the land that gave them birth. The Jews who once played an important part in the financial, industrial, and commercial life of Germany have, with a few outstanding exceptions, met with serious reverses in the post-War period. The story of the economic decline of German Jewry under the Republic is the theme of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX

THE MYTH OF JEWISH ECONOMIC DOMINANCE

HISTORIC CONDITIONS DETERMINING THE JEWISH ECONOMIC PATTERN

ALTHOUGH the occupational distribution of the Jews differs considerably from that of the Christians, it should be borne in mind that the differences are the result of conditions which have long been beyond the control of the Jews. History and tradition have combined to present the occupational picture which the Jews reflect. People tend to make a living in fields to which they can gain easy access and in which they show special abilities. When certain fields are closed to them, they naturally tend to shift to those which are open. If they are successful in these fields, it is natural that they remain in them even after restrictions in other fields are removed.

Thus, Jews have been engaged in commercial and financial operations ever since they came into the land, over a thousand years ago. Few other vocations were open to them, for throughout the Middle Ages they were kept off the land and out of the professions and crafts. State laws, canon laws, and public opinion combined to keep them out of all these fields of endeavor. Commerce and finance were open to Jews because there was great need of their services there, and few others were permitted or qualified to render these services. The cumulative experience of the Jews in commerce has not only stood them in good stead but has materially benefitted Germany, as we have already shown.

Jews are engaged in such large numbers in the needle trades, because this is one field to which access was not denied them while others were closed to them; and they are absent from the iron, steel, and mining industries today because they have never been allowed free access to them. The tradition in the heavy industries has been that Jews are "not wanted"; they are not encouraged to come in either as laborers or as executives; they have few opportunities for advancement. In view of this fact, is it not natural, now that restrictions have been removed, for a Jew to prefer work in a garment factory to which he is accustomed and which leaves him more leisure for the cultivation of his mind and his intellectual interests, rather than shift over to work in a coal mine or some similar occupation?

A host of reasons have deterred the Jew from returning to the farm since the opportunity has again been available to him. Prejudice among peasants in Germany has always been strong against Jews. An individual Jewish farmer would have few religious contacts on the land. His opportunities for cultural advancement—a thing which he always takes seriously—would be materially handicapped. Besides, the taste for farming has been feeble among Jews ever since they were driven off their own soil 1900 years ago, and were forced to relinquish their farms and groves and vineyards.

The opportunity to serve the state in the civil service was not really thrown open to the Jew until the rise of the Republic in 1919. But even then his opportunity was shortlived for, as the reactionary forces gained more and more influence, Jews were again kept out of this branch of service. The vast field of public school teaching, for which the Jew is particularly well qualified, has, as we have seen, been open to him to only a small degree. As a result Jews have had to concentrate in certain vocations where their ability and personality could win for them the chance to earn a livelihood. The high percentage of practicing doctors and lawyers exists largely because non-Jews voluntarily choose to employ them in preference to non-Jewish doctors and lawyers. If they did not respect them and appreciate their abilities, they could not prosper. For these reasons Nazis, even today, consult Jewish physicians. If they had to rely only upon Jewish patronage and clientele, the number of Jewish physicians and lawyers would today be but a small fraction of what it is.

Even the figures previously quoted concerning the social distribution, which shows a large proportion of "independent" Jews, can be readily comprehended in the light of the abnormal conditions under which Jews lived. When a group is hemmed in on all sides and confronted by prejudices and antipathies at every step, it is quite natural for it to desire vocations which afford a modicum of independence and freedom to rule its own destinies. Those who were financially successful achieved this independence to a high degree, but even the less successful still clung to vocations which fulfilled this requirement. Thus, the 49.7 per cent of "independent" Jews includes not only bank presidents and great industrialists but also thousands of petty-shopkeepers, peddlers, solicitors, and secondhand dealers.

The reasons for the high percentage of white-collar workers becomes obvious when we realize that the Jews are primarily an urban group. Living in the cities, they flock to those fields of gainful employment where they have had previous experience, the retail and wholesale shops and establishments.

Despite these historical and traditional forces which tended to make the Jewish occupational pattern distinctive, we have seen that, until the 1933 National Revolution, German Jewry was in process of adjusting itself, although slowly, to the typical German occupational and social pattern.

The table below summarizes the progress which was made in this direction in the century or thereabouts from 1813 to 1925 (Prussia). At the right we see the percentage of the non-Jewish population engaged in each category, while the columns to the left show the definite progress toward this norm which is reflected in the Jewish statistics for the successive periods.

It would be unreasonable to expect that the pattern which was a thousand years in the making should be completely revised in one century, or more accurately, in part of a century, since the

VOCATION	PERCENTAGE OF JEWS ENGAGED IN THE RESPECTIVE VOCATIONS IN			PERCENTAGE OF NON-JEWS IN THESE VOCATIONS IN
	1813	1852	1925	1925
Commerce and Finance	50	45·1	47·7	8.0
Peddling	20	6.4	1.6	1.8
	—	—	—	—
Total	70	51.5	49·3	9.8
Crafts and Industries	7·0	19·4	21.9	36.7
Professions	3·0*	3·5	8·7†	6.0
Agriculture	0.5‡	1.1‡	1.5	26.6

*Actually only 1% were in the professions. The other 2% were rabbis, synagogue attendants, etc.

†This includes also those in civil, social, and health services, etc.

‡The Jews' right to own farm land was not acknowledged definitively until 1867.

restrictions were only gradually lifted, field by field. The above table proves that the distortions in Jewish occupational distribution were not altogether of the Jew's own choosing and that as soon as he was permitted to do so, he began to settle into a more "normal" distribution. How quickly this process might have reached its logical and natural goal if the Nazi cataclysm had not occurred, it is impossible to say.

It is not improbable that the wide divergence in occupational and social distribution which still remains between Jew and Gentile has served materially to separate the two. The endless insinuations of the anti-Semitic press served only to widen the breach and to aggravate the difficulties of their relations. Whether an approximation of the normal German economic pattern will serve to make for a better understanding of the Jew is questionable.

THE ECONOMIC DECLINE OF THE JEW IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Economic opportunities since 1925, when the last census was published, have decreased sharply for the average Jew in Germany. This is largely due to the general decline in commerce, industry, and agriculture in the post-War period. The greatest blow to German economic well-being after 1918 was the inflation (1922-1923) which wiped out many of the wealthy and the greater part of the middle classes. The inflation was followed, after a breathing spell of four or five years of moderate prosperity, by the world depression, accompanied by a sharp increase of unemployment throughout Germany.

In order to cope with the increasingly bad economic conditions, there was an acceleration of the pre-War tendency to combine the great industries into rings, cartels, trusts, and co-operatives. As conditions still continued to grow worse, the state stepped in and began to provide subsidies and credit to sick industries to prevent them from collapsing. Nationalization or collectivization of industry, begun in part long before the War, now increased rapidly.

By 1925, ten per cent of all wage earners were engaged in enterprises directly or indirectly controlled by the government; by 1932 it was estimated that the percentage had risen to about fourteen. It was estimated that one-fifth of all the national wealth was in the government's hands by 1926 and that this percentage was rapidly increasing. It was further estimated that in the period 1930-1932, sixty to seventy-five per cent of all the sources of credit were controlled by the government.

With the growing nationalization of industry from above and the strong demand for socialization from below, Germany was approaching a condition of state socialism. It is obvious that by means of this growing participation in industry and credit, the government can, if it so desires, exercise a most decisive influence on the national economy. From about 1925 onward, when the nationalist forces entered the picture, the government began to pursue an unsympathetic attitude toward the Jews. National sentiment viewed with hostility the participation of "non-Aryans" and non-Germans in the economic life of the land.

The civil service had always looked askance at Jews. There were very few of them in the great electricity works, in the railroads, the street railway, and other utilities owned by the cities and the state. Individual Jews might sit on the Board of the Reichsbank but few Jews were employed in that great institution; the Prussian state mines did not want them either. With the growing concentration of capital and industry in the hands of the government during the cartelization period, there were even fewer opportunities for Jews. The thinly veiled hostility of the state bureaucracy was paralleled in private industry by a similar antagonism. The coal, iron, chemical, and other industries had for years carried on a silent boycott of Jews as a class. In addition, the growth of large trusts and syndicates tended to destroy the moderately wealthy business man, the middle man, and the petty-shopkeeper who could not withstand the competition because of the lack of financial resources. Jewish executives were let out and Jewish clerical workers and laborers were not welcomed, creating a gradual increase of the Jewish unemployed. The impoverishment brought about by the inflation drove the women to work in the attempt to eke out a family living. Today 26 per cent of all Jewish workers are women.

We see, thus, that the new collectivism was increasingly tainted with racial prejudice. The growing political and cultural chauvinism was aggravated by the hostility to Germany from abroad, which led to a loss of markets and the consequent desire within Germany to be self-sufficient.

It is rather ironical that the concept of socialization of industry which was fathered by two German Jews, Marx and Lassalle, should have led, after a few generations, to a national economy that is hostile to the Jew. The development of administrative and technical organization—initiated in part by Jews of genius—had reached the point where it could afford to do without the Jew. As a pioneer in the early venturesome days of economic liberalism, the Jew was welcomed; now in the strictly regimented, cartelized state the Jew is dispensable.

These restrictive tendencies began to reflect themselves very clearly in the economic situation of the German Jew during the seven or eight years prior to the accession of Hitler to power. The upper crust of Jewish wealth became thinner and thinner. Judging from the income statistics of Berlin Jews there were 80% fewer wealthy Jews after the War than before it. Only about seven-tenths of one per cent of Berlin Jewish taxpayers had a taxable income in 1925 of $12,000 or over, while about 38% of all Berlin Jews had a taxable income of $300 or less. This was in 1925, before the depression set in, while Germany was enjoying a short breathing spell. This condition grew rapidly worse as the restrictions against Jews increased. Large numbers of Jews who had been financially independent and even wealthy were added to the relief rolls each year.

In the period from 1928 to 1930, twenty per cent of the Jewish private banks disappeared, while only 8.7 per cent of similar non-Jewish institutions closed their doors. It is significant, too, that in the larger public banks—where the Jewish influence is reputed to be strong—there was a 23 per cent decline in Jewish personnel in the same period as against a very small percentage of non-Jews dismissed from the same banks. In 1913, Jewish firms dominated the metals trade (not the industry); by 1930, the number of Jewish firms had declined 13.3 per cent, while the number of non-Jewish firms had increased 52.9 per cent.

Not only was there a definite increase in the number of Jews who ceased to be "independent" and became employees, but there was a growing impoverishment among them. In Berlin, in 1931, every seventh Jew was on the relief lists of the Jewish *Gemeinde* and the percentage was rapidly increasing. This impoverishment is evidenced by the fact that the income of the Jewish Community of Berlin has declined to about half of what it used to be; in some of the smaller towns the *Gemeinden* have suffered an even greater loss of income.

The Jewish intellectuals, about 25,000 all told, were particularly hard hit. They are the ones who were directly affected by the civil service discriminations. Many city and state hospitals would not employ them and they were given fewer chances to enter into the field of primary and secondary school teaching, which comprises about 56 per cent of all professional opportunities.

The competition for positions among professionally trained people has grown unusually keen. Since 1871, the number of Gentile students in the universities has increased almost ten-fold; the number of Jewish students has only doubled. During each of the last few years there have been about 25,000 graduates, but only about 11,000 positions per year available. This shortage of positions among the Christian Germans would alone have made it inevitable that Christians should in most cases be given preference over Jews. But when we add to this economic motive the influence of the increasing chauvinism within the state, we realize why the situation of the Jewish university graduate soon became serious. It was estimated, several years ago, that by 1932 there would be 5,000 unemployed Jewish professional men. This estimate seems high although it is known that unemployment among Jewish academicians, particularly in Berlin, is very widespread. That the Jews have suffered more than their fellow citizens, may be inferred from the fact that the percentage of suicides among Jews was almost double that among the Protestant and Catholic groups.

The chauvinistic, state-controlled, economic policy that we have just described has been rapidly carried to its logical conclusion by Adolf Hitler. He did not originate it; he embraced it because it fitted in so perfectly with his own ideas. He has simply made Jewish, economic disability official and has extended it to include practically all fields of economic endeavor. He has succeeded so well in undermining their economic status that it is doubtful whether the Jews will be at all able to maintain themselves in the National Socialist state.

THE MYTH OF JEWISH ECONOMIC DOMINANCE

What is most surprising is that during these last few years, when German Jewry was manifestly losing ground economically, it was exposed to a series of vicious anti-Semitic attacks centering in the accusation that Jews controlled the economic life and destiny of Germany and were determined to destroy it. In fact, the Nazis rode into power by accusing the Jews of responsibility for the post-War economic breakdown and by promising the masses that, if put into control, they would crush the Jews and remedy these abuses.

The manifest absurdity of accusing 250,000 gainfully employed Jews of dominating a land of 65,000,000 never seemed to strike the Nazis. The anomaly of a charge of Jewish economic control in a period when every seventh Jew in Berlin was appealing for relief did not daunt them. It is hard, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that the accusations made by the Nazis lacked even the merit of sincerity and were motivated solely by the desire to secure office.

National Socialist publicists have laid a great deal of emphasis upon the financial power of the Jews and their "economic rule." It was constantly charged that the banks were under their control. A survey shows, however, that of the 1,657 joint-stock banks in Germany in 1930, ten, or only .3 per cent were Jewish in the sense that Jewish influence was strong in their management and control. The fact that of these ten, six were in Berlin, no doubt served to emphasize their number unduly. This was in 1930. The following year, 1931, as a result of the financial crash in Germany the government took over the capital stocks of some of the Berlin banks and extended large loans to others. Among these were some of the "Jewish" banks. Thus, two years before the rise of Hitler, the so-called "Jewish Banks" against which the anti-Semites were constantly fulminating were already largely controlled by the government. (cf. Hoover, pp. 6-7.)

It is true that a large percentage of the private banks (almost one half of them) were Jewish. What is deliberately ignored, however, by the Nazi propagandists is the fact that, with a few notable exceptions, these banks were small and totally insignificant in comparison with the large joint-stock banks. We have already pointed out the change in the financial structure of Germany which practically eliminated the power and influence of the private bankers and placed the greater part of the credit structure under the control of the joint-stock enterprises. It may also be pointed out that the majority of the executives and officials in the Jewish owned private banks were non-Jews.

An even more significant fact is that the larger Jewish private banks were instrumental, through their contacts in other countries, in bringing large sums of foreign capital into post-War Germany at the time when it was needed most. This is ignored by the Nazi propagandists and certainly fails to comport with their accusation that the Jews used their power to destroy Germany. They have conveniently forgotten the work of men like Melchior and Warburg in inducing the Entente powers to reduce their impossible reparations demands and to cease bleeding the post-War, hungry, over-taxed German people.

In 1930, only seven per cent of all the directors, managers, and responsible officials of the joint-stock banks of Germany were Jewish, and the number was declining rapidly. In 1882, a generation before this, 43.25 per cent of the owners and executives of all banks, from the petty private institutions to the large public banks, were Jews (Prussia). The fact that some of these Jews of the post-War period held high positions served to bring them into the public eye and magnified the impression held by the masses as to their numbers. Naturally, by virtue of their positions, these individuals had influence in banking circles; but there is a vast difference of degree between influence and domination. A Jewish official in a joint-stock bank is the agent—nothing more—of the board of directors of his bank; as an agent, the

Jew could only serve those for whom he worked. Such dominance as there was could certainly not have belonged to the Jews. Brilliant bankers like the older Carl Fürstenberg (*Berliner Handelsgesellschaft*) and Eugen Gutmann (*Dresdner Bank*) and the later Wassermann, Goldschmidt, Sobernheim, and the like kept their positions through sheer ability. In the Reichsbank with its hundreds of branches, and in the thousands of communally controlled "Savings Banks," the Jews were conspicuous by their absence both as executives and employees. Of the 1,061 officials in the Bavarian State Bank there was but one Jew (1930).

The economic power in Germany—certainly during the period after the War—has been vested largely in "big industry" which frequently dominates the boards of the large banks. The big industries are the iron, steel, potash, chemical, match, shipping, and artificial silk industries, in which, about 1931, there were close to 2,800 cartels and trusts. With rare exceptions, Jews played no part in these organizations in the post-War period (1932). They are not found in the basic, key, and raw materials industries. As manufacturers they are engaged in the making of consumer's rather than producer's goods.

PROFITEERING DURING THE WAR AND THE INFLATION

It is the large German key industries which have profited most from the War and the succeeding inflation. The accusations of the reactionary and anti-Semitic press anent Jewish profiteering during the War and post-War periods were motivated as much by the desire to deflect public opinion from the real culprits as by anti-Semitic prejudice. Jewish-administered industries, such as the Hamburg-American Line and the General Electric Company, either suffered losses or made very little profit during the War; the Westphalian armament people, on the other hand, made huge profits and fortunes. Such limitation as was set upon the war earnings of the great industrialists was in part due to the agitation of the democratic press, in which Jews played a part.

In 1923, due to the financial ineptitude and the political weakness of the government, the devastating inflation set in. It so reduced the value of the mark that in the end it required eight billion paper marks to buy one American dollar. The real gainers here were the industrialists. They possessed "material values" which could not depreciate. They owned mills and mines, shops and factories. They sold abroad for gold and paid their workers in paper. The farmers who paid for their mortgages in paper were other real beneficiaries of this period. The Jewish bankers, merchants, and professional classes were often wiped out completely. Their securities, their paper values, were worthless.

At one stage it seemed as if the inflation was about to be halted and the mark stabilized. At that moment, April 16-17, 1923, Hugo Stinnes, the great German post-War industrialist, bought 93,000 English pounds sterling and completely shattered the value of the mark. At the very time when the Nationalist papers which he and the interlocking Hugenberg Konzern controlled were accusing the Jews of financial malpractice, Hugo Stinnes himself, by preventing the mark from being stabilized, hurled the German people into the abyss of financial ruin. This one man controlled 4,554 mines, mills, factories, wharves, and other businesses, and had close contacts with eleven banks. His great fortune was built largely through the profits of the War and the German inflation. Accusations against the Jews proved a very effective smoke screen for Stinnes and his like.

THE DEPARTMENT AND CHAIN STORES PROBLEM

There has been considerable agitation during the post-War period against the department store as a business institution. The department store was held to be a nefarious creation of the Jews, brought into being to ruin the petty German retail trader. The facts of the case are first, that the department store as a type of business was created by non-Jews in Paris; secondly, that many of the large department stores are non-Jewish, *i. e.,* the C. & A.

Brenninkmeyer, the Theodor Althoff, the Rudolf Herzog, the Zeeck, the Oberpollinger, and many other similar organizations and their affiliates in Germany. Likewise, of the 400 one-price stores, like Woolworth's, for example, about 200 are owned by individuals and the remainder are owned by chains, only some of which are Jewish. The Woolworth chain, a relatively large one, is, of course, American and non-Jewish. The food chain stores are likewise controlled by non-Jews.

Thirdly, if the Jewish menace of the department stores is directed particularly at the small retailer, then it would appear that the Jew is making a great effort to ruin himself, since Jews are concentrated in large numbers, as we have seen, in the retail shop-owning class.

The development of the department store, as well as of the chain store, as a business institution, has been in evidence all over the world in the last quarter-century. It is a natural outgrowth of the capitalistic trend toward concentration. In a state like Germany where the trend even before the War has been definitely toward a collectivistic economy, it was to be expected that department and chain stores should take strong hold. They are efficient and economical forms of business. It was also to be expected that Jews should participate in the development of this as well as other types of commercial and financial enterprise offering a broad field for their business abilities. To argue, however, that they have created this type of business and that they control it in Germany, using their power to the hurt of large classes of Germans, is the height of absurdity. There is not a country in the world, having these types of business, where they do not constitute a threat to the small retail trader and where the problem which they raise in the national economy is not regarded as a serious one. But it is only in Germany that the attempt is being made to solve this problem through the arousal of racial hatreds instead of through reason and economic principles.

The importance of the department and chain store problem, while great when taken by itself, is seen to loom less large when considered in relation to the total merchandizing situation. In Berlin, for instance, the department stores handled 3.9% of all retail trade, while independent retailers handled 81% of it. The four hundred one-price stores handled only 1.2% of the retail trade of all Germany.

FINANCIAL CORRUPTION AND SCANDALS

Another field in which anti-Semitic propaganda has been used as a smoke-screen to mask a serious internal problem and to divert the attention of the discontented masses from the real culprits, has been that of corruption and financial scandal among the officials and those "high-up" in the industrial world. Whenever a Jewish business man or industrialist was arrested or convicted for fraudulent practices, the Nationalist and anti-Semitic press blared forth a full blast, spreading all of the lurid details across their pages and hurling accusation and vituperation at all Jews as a class. This was no new experience for the Jews, having begun when Bethel Henry Strousberg, by that time a good Christian, crashed in the early 'seventies.

About the notorious financial scandals in which their own followers and adherents were involved, this same press was usually strangely silent. It would be easy to compile a rather impressive *chronique scandaleuse* dealing with the adventures in financial crime of German nationalists and anti-Semites alone. The Christian Trades Union paper, *Der Deutsche* (September 18, 1932), lists sixty to seventy business executives who betrayed their country to their own profit, the losses in many cases mounting into the millions. The prominent anti-Semitic leaders, Baron von Hammerstein and Hermann Ahlwardt were arrested and convicted of common crimes. The all-powerful Friedrich von Holstein of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1878-1906) used the secrets of his office to build his personal fortune on the stock exchange. The fraudulent bankruptcy of the Nordwolle Trust involved a loss of over 400,000,000 marks. The directors, the Lahusen brothers, now in jail, were supporters of the Nationalist and National Socialist parties. The crash of this concern brought down with it some of the biggest banks in Germany which had been tricked into supporting it on the basis of falsified balance sheets. The outstanding victim was the *Darmstädter und Nationalbank* of which Goldschmidt was president.

Possibly the most glaring and flagrant example of class discrimination and fiscal malpractice was the application of the provisions of the Eastern Relief Act. Millions in government relief funds have been poured into the East German provinces as subsidies to the Junkers at a time when their estates were hopelessly bankrupt and it was known that this expenditure was a futile drain on a poverty striken people. "At a time when large sums were being extended to their (the Junker) estates as relief," Calvin Hoover tells us (p. 19), "many of them continued to buy expensive motor cars, to make their customary trips to the Riviera and to patronize the exclusive hotels in Berlin." In the summer of 1932, Pastor Cremer, who had furthered an evangelical colony, Devaheim, was sentenced to prison for defrauding thousands of poor people out of their savings. We have already referred to such "legitimate" crimes as Hugo Stinnes' manipulations to prevent the stabilization of the mark.

Our purpose in mentioning these instances is not to prove that the Germans are a criminal people because of the above-named culprits in their midst, nor that Protestants are craven because they harbored a pastor like Cremer, but to point out how unfair the same argument is when applied to all Jews because of a few offenders in their midst.

We have seen thus that the assertions of Jewish domination of the economic life of Germany, of Jewish financial power and "economic rule," and the accusations of profiteering and financial corruption are all of a piece. In a rational society they would be accepted with a cynical smile and a tapping of the head. But in

Germany they become the crude planks out of which a coffin is constructed for a whole people.

* * *

It is a commonplace that the Jews have been very active in the cultural life in Germany. How long has it been since they entered into the literary, scientific, musical, and artistic world of their German fellow citizens? To what extent has the Jew's influence been beneficial? What effect, if any, will the changed status of the German Jew have on his cultural efforts and his cultural character in the future?

We address the next chapters to the attempt to answer these questions.

CHAPTER X

THE LITERARY ACTIVITY OF THE GERMAN JEW

THE MEDIEVAL JEW IN GERMAN CULTURAL LIFE

THE Medieval Jew in the Mediterranean lands was keenly interested in the Arabic culture which, for a number of centuries, influenced Spain, the Provence, and, to a lesser extent, South Italy. Many Jews in these lands devoted themselves to philosophical studies, to the sciences such as mathematics, astronomy, astrology, map work, and medicine, and to poetry and other forms of literary art.

As the Arabic influence in these centers waned and the countries became increasingly Christian, the Jews who remained in the lands throughout the period of changing domination became cultural carriers and mediators. They preserved the Graeco-Arabic disciplines by translating them into Latin and teaching them to the Christians. In this fashion, they were of genuine service to the rising Christian civilization that was about to usher in the Renaissance.

Farther to the north, in medieval Germany, the cultural lot of the Jew was not so happy. Germany had no great upsurge of literature and science by which the Jew might have been influenced. The fact that the social and, hence, the cultural relations of the Jews with the German people were often strained prevented the general assimilation of such cultural elements as existed. There were, of course, individual Jews who adopted something of the art and even of the literature and spirit of the German culture of those days. As early as the twelfth century German became the mother tongue of the Jewish settlers. Songs of love and tales of war and knightly heroism were recited in Jewish homes as well as in German homes, but the well from which the Jew could draw was too shallow to make any impression on his soul. Only the early modern German vernacular has remained in Jewish life as our present-day Yiddish.

MENDELSSOHN AND HIS INFLUENCE

As the centuries passed and the anti-Jewish disabilities increased, the contempt of the Gentile for the Jew mounted. The embittered Jews disdainfully ignored the culture of the people who oppressed them.

There were only a few individual Jews in Germany in the middle eighteenth century who sensed the approach of emancipation and yearned for it. These were the wealthy Jewish business men and physicians who had managed to educate themselves in modern culture and were determined to "emancipate" all Jews both culturally and politically.

In this attempt to take the German Jew out of his physical and spiritual ghetto and to make of him a well-rounded citizen of the world in which he lived, Moses Mendelssohn was the most significant figure. By dint of hard labor, he had acquired an unusual general education and a knowledge of the literature and philosophies of Western Europe. He encouraged his fellow Jews to follow in his footsteps by translating the Pentateuch for them into good literary German (1783) and by publishing his translation in Hebrew script with which most Jews were familiar. He furthered the establishment of modernized parochial schools for Jewish children and attempted to assuage the fears of the religiously minded by remaining a scrupulously observant orthodox Jew.

Though Mendelssohn has no influence in the literary or philosophical life of Germany today, in his own time he was something of a sensation. He was an intimate friend of Lessing and was acquainted with both Herder and Kant. In his *Jerusalem* he made one of the first appeals heard in Germany for the separation of church and state and argued for freedom of belief and conscience in the name of humanity. His *Phaedo,* a popular essay on im-mortality, was widely read, and his German prose style was greatly admired in an age when Frederick the Great, the most German of the Germans, preferred French to his native tongue.

Despite Mendelssohn's influence as a German stylist, essayist, and popular philosopher, his cultural prejudices were cosmopolitan and humanitarian, rather than national. His own daughter Dorothea, who later married Schlegel, was, however, one of a group of women who devoted their efforts to the furtherance of a specific German literary culture. Another woman in this group was Henriette Herz, one of the clearest thinkers among the cultured "salon" women of her day. She was a good friend of the Schlegels, the Humboldts, Schleiermacher, and the young Börne. Rahel Levin Varnhagen preached the gospel of Goethe. All these women so completely identified themselves with the German cultural majority that they ultimately threw their Judaism overboard and became Christians.

JEWISH WRITERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Börne, whom we have mentioned, was one of the first influential journalists in Germany. Heine, his contemporary, was probably the greatest literary figure in Germany for decades after the passing of the old Goethe. As a lyrist, satirist, and publicist, Heine has left his impress on the literature not only of the Germans but of other peoples. His liberalism stirred the masses. His poems have been set to music and have been sung for generations in all lands.

In the 'forties Berthold Auerbach, poet and writer, began to write his charming tales of the Black Forest which all Germany read and admired for their German spirit. Jakob Grimm wrote to tell him that his writings were as German as if they had come from Hermann the Cheruscan himself. However, this did not save Auerbach from the accusation of being an "alien" writer and he died, one might say, of a broken heart. Anti-Semitism had crushed him. Referring to the current anti-Jewish agitation, he wrote in a mournful strain in 1881, a few months before his death: "Words cannot express my suffering. This is the crash of my ideals; my life is shattered."

Paul Heyse, son of the non-Jewish scholar Karl Heyse (who was once a tutor in the Mendelssohn-Bartholdy home and had married the daughter of a well-known Berlin Jew), began in the 'fifties to write his stories, poems, and dramas. A half century later, in 1910, he received the Nobel prize for Literature.

THE GHETTO NOVELISTS

All through the nineteenth century a host of writers, mostly Jews, wrote stories and novels dealing with the attempt of the ghetto Jew to acclimatize himself to his environment. Among the German group, which includes the names of Auerbach, Kompert, and Franzos, was Aaron Bernstein, whose Jewish stories were read by thousands. Bernstein (1812-1884) was an active figure in the revolution of '48. He fought on the barricades and was later imprisoned for his liberal sympathies. He was a most versatile person: a political writer of influence and the first man in Germany to popularize scientific knowledge, particularly the field of astronomy. His scientific writings made a great impression on the young Albert Einstein who was later to become the great physicist. In addition, Bernstein was a Jewish scholar of some reputation and one of the most vigorous religious reformers of middle nineteenth century Germany. His family is a distinguished one: one of his nephews was Eduard Bernstein, the German Revisionist and Socialist leader; Julius Bernstein, the eminent physiologist and rector of the University of Halle, was his son; Felix Bernstein, professor of mathematics at Göttingen, now an *émigré* in the United States, is his grandson.

THE SOUTH GERMAN WRITERS

In the last generation or two, a host of Jews have attained distinction in German literary life as novelists and short story writers, as poets and dramatists, as essayists and biographers. In dealing with German literature, we have in mind not only the writers of Germany proper but also of Prague and Vienna, for Germany, German Bohemia, and Austria all read and admire the same men. As a matter of fact the most notable of the Jewish German writers of the last half century have, with few exceptions, been Austrians: Schnitzler, von Hofmannsthal, Beer-Hofmann, Martin Buber, Max Brod, Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig, Peter Altenberg, Jakob Wassermann, and others.

Wassermann, a Bavarian, did his creative work in Austria. Two of his best known books are *The World's Illusion* and *The Maurizius Case*. Wassermann (d. 1934) consciously, almost pathetically German, tackled serious problems in a broad, powerful fashion. Schnitzler (d. 1931) reflected with delicate nuance, the wit, melancholy, and make-believe of his own Viennese; Buber, grandson of the Midrash scholar Solomon Buber, is essentially a preacher of an all-embracing ethical universalism. His Hasidic and Zionistic sympathies are passing whims, subordinate to his humanitarian hopes. This man has left his mark on Young Germany not merely because of what he says but because of the way he says it. His prose style is very much admired by the younger generation. It is questionable whether in the modern Germany devoted to sharp nationalistic views, there will be room for a man with his universal sympathies.

In Prague, Max Brod (b. 1884) manifests a many-sided ability. He is a poet, dramatic critic, composer, and novelist who assumes the proportions of a philosopher. He is best known in English-speaking lands for his *Reubeni.*

Munich, across the border in Bavaria, was the birthplace of Lion Feuchtwanger, author of the historical novels *Power, Josephus,* and *The Oppermanns.* Arnold Zweig (b.1887), no relative of Stefan Zweig, is noted for his stories, dramas, and essays. His most famous novel, one of the greatest of the war *genre,* is *The Case of Sergeant Grischa.* In most of his books and works, Zweig betrays a manifest sympathy for things Jewish. Of world-wide renown is Emil Ludwig (b. 1881), the most popular of living biographers. He is the bane of professional historians: their sense of accuracy compels them, in their unfavorable reviews, to point out his errors—and his original name, Cohn.

THE IMPRESSIONISTS (SYMBOLISTS)

The literary naturalism which brooded over the last quarter of the nineteenth century and which, strangely enough, produced no outstanding Jewish writer, was succeeded by a period of neo-romanticism. This age of revolt, of return to the classical, the beautiful, and the traditional, evoked an earnest response in a number of Jews. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, son of a Jewish father, was a lyric poet and dramatist with a style of striking beauty. At the age of seventeen this mirror of moods had already written *Gestern* and *Der Tod des Tizian* (1891). Richard Beer-Hoffmann (b. 1866), another Austrian, wrote *Jacob's Dream* and *The Young David*. Stefan Zweig, poet, novelist, dramatist, essayist, and translator from the French, is the author of *Jeremiah*. He is known both in Germany and in the United States where thousands have read his *Marie Antoinette*, his *Amok*, and his *Emile Verhaeren*.

Despite his withdrawal from the public eye, few writers in Germany had exerted as much influence as Stefan George (d. 1933), the poet. George, a non-Jew, was a resolute opponent of naturalism, a foe of materialism, an advocate of beauty of form, and art for its own sake. Many of the present-day Germans who preach the gospel of the beautiful and the mystical in modern nationalism have derived their inspiration from George's esoteric circle. It is interesting, and ironical too, to note that among his intimates and disciples there were a number of Jews like Karl Wolfskehl, the poet, and Friedrich Gundolf, the literary historian. Gundolf, professor at Heidelberg (d. 1921), a master of German prose, has written on Shakespeare, Heinrich Kleist, and Goethe. Goethe has always been a favorite theme with German Jews.

(They have less prejudice against him than he has against them.) Among the writers who have written a standard or widely read life and critique of this great German figure are Bielschowsky, Witkowski, Simmel, R. M. Meyer, M. Bernays, Emil Ludwig, and, of course, Gundolf.

Rudolf Borchardt has devoted his talents as a poet and stylist to a study of literary materials of Germanic character in the writings of the past, drawing heavily on medieval sources. Even his language and style tend consciously toward the archaic. He has attempted to create a common Germanic cultural background. During the War period he was known for his chauvinism, for his annexationist hopes, and for his hatred of France.

Another robust nationalist is Ernst Lissauer, author of the *Hassegesang* (Song of Hate), which achieved a rather invidious notoriety during the War period. Lissauer, a writer of considerable ability, has frequently chosen very German themes to express himself, such as *Yorck* and *Luther and Thomas Münzer.* This has not saved him or his writings from complete isolation by the present National Socialist movement.

Though not himself a *littérateur,* Sigmund Freud (b. 1856) of Vienna, through his studies in psychoanalysis, has become a most profound influence in modern thought. He has helped writers to describe reality in its most essential sense and has thus paved the way for a real synthesis of naturalism and expressionism.

THE EXPRESSIONISTS

By 1912 expressionism in literature had begun to manifest itself. Expressionism, in contradistinction to literary naturalism and impressionism, seeks for an expression of the inner experience. It emphasizes passion, ecstasy, and imagination; it is subjective, introspective. It is obvious that this type of literary expression would quite naturally influence the Jews. Among the Jewish writers of this school are: Paul Kornfeld, Carl Sternheim, Franz Werfel, and Ernst Toller. The latter two are particularly notable.

Werfel (b. 1890) is a lyrist, dramatist, novelist, and short story writer of great visionary power; Ernst Toller (b. 1893), like Werfel, is fired with a strong moral and prophetical spirit. Toller, a wounded war veteran, was, for a time, a Bavarian communist leader. His expressionistic dramas of revolution and pacifism, such as *Man and the Masses* and *The Machine Wreckers* reveal a writer of great spirit dedicating himself to a protest against violence and the tyranny of the machine.

A not uninteresting figure among the expressionists of today is Arnolt Bronnen (Bronner), descended on his father's side from a Viennese Jewish family. His dramas are strongly folkist and anti-Semitic; this no doubt explains his appointment as a literary adviser to the National Socialists.

Jewish-born anti-Semites are not unique. It has been said that Wilhelm Marr, the outstanding anti-Semitic pamphleteer of the 'seventies, was of Jewish origin. Georg von Schönerer, one of the most vicious of the pre-War Austrian anti-Semites and a great influence in the life of the Austrian, Hitler, was also reputed to be of Jewish origin. It is probable that this imputed Jewish ancestry was only an attempt on the part of his political rivals to discredit him. He was, however, married to a Jewess, the great-granddaughter of a rabbi. The most interesting Jewish anti-Semitic writer of them all was Otto Weininger, son of Leo Weininger, a goldsmith of great reputation and artistic ability. Weininger at the age of twenty-two became a Christian out of conviction and the following year published his *Sex and Character,* a very unusual and brilliant book in which he attempted to demonstrate the unmoral, negative, and unproductive character of Judaism as opposed to the virile and positive character of Christianity. The same year, 1903, this youth, whose philosophic attainments were tremendous despite his psychopathic nature, committed suicide. His unusual book has thus far gone through at least twenty-two German editions and has been translated into practically every European language.

The actual number of Jewish free-lance literary men in Prussia, as listed in the 1925 census, was 374 out of a total of 2,906; there were, all told, 73 Jewish literary employees out of a total of 725.

JOURNALISM

Closely allied to the field of literature and drama is the field of journalism. Good journalism is, of course, literature, and thus in a history of the participation of the Jew in journalism we would again have to begin with Börne and Heine and add the brilliant Marx and Lassalle. In our own day the better known newspaper writers wrote for the Democratic and Socialist press although there were a number of Jews who wrote for Hugenberg. Theodor Wolff, who determined the editorial policy of the *Berliner Tageblatt,* exerted a great deal of influence in professional and business circles in Berlin; the same may be said of the editor of the *Vossische Zeitung,* Georg Bernhard, a vigorous champion of democracy. A writer of the older generation was Maximilian Harden, a brilliant essayist, who in his magazine, *Zukunft* (established 1892), vigorously exposed the camarilla that exerted an unhealthly influence on the impressionable William II. Harden wielded a tremendous influence in pre-War Germany.

Among the socialistic editors who have at some time in their career written for the Berlin *Vorwärts* are Adolf Braun, Kurt Eisner, and Friedrich Stampfer, the latter its last chief editor. Stampfer was most active in the pre-War struggle to secure equal rights and the franchise for all citizens. The ultimate victory of the liberals and radicals in 1918 not only empowered the Marxian Socialists but also helped destroy them, for the National Socialists promptly proceeded to utilize their democratic rights to legislate the socialists out of existence. Of Eisner, tragically murdered in Munich, in 1919, Gooch writes: "Nowhere in the brief annals of the German Revolution do we meet with a more attractive personality or a more humane outlook upon life." (*Germany,* p. 166.) Eisner shone in the *feuilleton,* a phase of journalism in which there were a number of well-known Jewish names. Best known among these newspaper essayists and critics, because he was the founder of Zionism, is Theodor Herzl of Vienna.

Of almost as great importance as writing itself is the ability to recognize new literary values and to make them available through translation and publication. Jewish translators have done much to introduce Verhaeren, Rostand, Tolstoy, and Shaw to the German-speaking world. The large Ullstein and Mosse Presses have exemplified the liberal and humanitarian spirit in republican Germany not only in politics but in all cultural matters.

It was Samuel Fischer, a native Slovakian (East European), who in 1889 became the first president of the Free Stage association which introduced the modern realistic drama into Germany. In his activity as a publisher he made available to German readers the writings of Ibsen, Shaw, Hauptmann, Dehmel, Mann, Wassermann, and Schnitzler. The *Neue Rundschau* which he issues has for decades blazed new paths in literary Germany.

THE STAGE

The creative efforts of Jewish dramatists to make the German stage one of distinction and of artistry have been paralleled by those of the Jewish theater directors. Three men have stood out in this movement: Adolph L'Arronge, Otto Brahm, and Max Reinhardt. L'Arronge (d. 1908), as early as 1883, reorganized the *Deutsches Theater* and in a short time, through his successes there, made Berlin the center of artistic dramatic production in the German-speaking states. The German classics, Goethe, Schiller, and the like were the center of his attention; he had, apparently, no appreciation of the significance of Ibsen and Hauptmann. It remained for Otto Brahm (Abrahamsohn, d. 1912), a theater critic and a man of scholarly attainments, to help found the Free Stage (*Freie Bühne*) movement which dedicated itself to the production of the problem dramas of the rising naturalistic school. L'Arronge generously made way for Brahm who now introduced Ibsen, Hauptmann, and Sudermann to the German people.

The last of this trio is Max Reinhardt (Goldmann, b. 1873), originally a character actor for Brahm. Reinhardt has influenced stage production all over the world. He took over the *Deutsches Theater* a generation ago (1905) when the vogue of naturalism had begun to wane and people began to seek more color and mood in drama. It was the age of neo-romanticism, of protest against the cold facts of life and death. Reinhardt brought imagination and atmosphere to the theater. The fertility of his fantasy seems unlimited; his sense of the spectacular is unusually keen. He gave the German people a new Shakespeare and a new Lessing; he brought them Molière, Strindberg, and Wedekind, and above all, he brought them Shaw even before he was appreciated in England.

A star of somewhat lesser magnitude in the director's firmament was Leopold Jessner of the *Staatstheater*. Like Reinhardt he was noted for spectacular effects. He breathed new life into the moribund State Theater by his masterly production of such great German classics as *Wallenstein* and the *Prince of Homburg*. There were various other stage directors and Jewish producers of some distinction and a half dozen actors of real power: Elisabeth Bergner, the tragedienne; Fritzi Massary, the operetta singer, so popular that they named a good cigarette in her honor; Max Pallenberg, her comedian husband; Ernst Deutsch; Paul Graetz; Irene Triesch; and Alexander Granach. Some of the best talking and singing films of recent years, *i. e., Potemkin, Madame Du Barry, Niebelungen, Zwei Herzen in Drei Viertel Takt,* and *Be Mine Tonight* were directed by Jews. In the Hugenberg-owned Ufa, the Jew, Erich Pommer, has produced some of its finest and most successful films.

We have had occasion to treat of the proportion of Jews in law, teaching, banking, the press, and commerce in relation to the total number of non-Jews engaged in these fields. We have noticed that in most of these cases the absolute number of Jews in the field is relatively insignificant, compared with the number of non-Jews. Does this situation hold also with reference to Jewish participation in the theater?

H. F. Rubinstein ends his short essay on the "Jew in the German Theater" with the sentence: "Altogether it must be confessed that, from the point of view of the theater, Herr Hitler and his party have performed with complete success the unusual operation of cutting off their face to spite their nose." This statement of the Jewish influence on the German theater is clever and flattering but might well be subjected to further scrutiny. The same thought is expressed even more drastically by Myerson and Goldberg in their *German Jew*: "The modern German theater, from the standpoint of production, is all but a Jewish product" (p. 148).

The more sober evidence of the 1925 census in Prussia indicates that of the 412 actors who worked for themselves or were executives, 31 were Jews; of the 5,398 actors who worked for others, 368 were Jewish; of the 593 stage directors (*Regisseure*), 65 were Jewish. The Jewish actor, outside of the few stars of national and international reputation, has always worked under a decided handicap in Germany. More than 60 per cent of the stages functioning in 1928-29 were controlled by the cities or states, and, like most other bureaucratic institutions, were closed to the average Jewish actor or musician. Already, in 1928, Jewish stage directors and actors were practically boycotted throughout the provincial cities of the Republic, and it has been estimated that the percentage of unemployed Jewish actors was even then very much higher than among non-Jews. In 1928-1929 there were 28,592 people connected with the theaters of Germany in a professional or non-professional capacity. Of this number about 2,500 were Jews, of whom about 1,000 were unemployed. In view of these figures, it is evident that in the theater Jewish eminence, such as it was, was the eminence of individuals and not of Jews collectively.

* * *

That the Jews in Germany and other centers of Germanic culture entered whole-heartedly into the cultural life of their native lands is evident. The names of Schnitzler, von Hofmannsthal, and Wassermann are ample warrant for this belief. But did the Jew show any creative ability in law, in literary and historical research? What has he done in the realm of philosophy, psychology, and sociology? How has he expressed himself in the fertile fields of the social sciences?

CHAPTER XI

THE GERMAN JEW IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNTIL the enactment of the discriminatory legislation of 1933, a large number of Jews were engaged in the practice of law. Law appealed to the Jews for a number of reasons; by no means the least among these was the fact that they had succeeded in gaining a foothold in this profession only after a long struggle.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Jews who hoped for an academic or administrative career in law had, perforce, to become converts. This was the age that saw the conversion of Eduard Gans, who later taught at Berlin; of Friedrich Julius Stahl; of young Heine; and of Eduard von Simson, second cousin of David Friedländer; all of these were to become lawyers. Possibly it was because he could not be a lawyer without becoming a convert that the stubborn Gabriel Riesser was such a bold warrior in the fight for civil equality. The year 1871 saw the end of the struggle for equal rights in all the German states.

In 1879, the German Empire succeeded in creating a series of unitary laws for the entire country designed to avoid the type of situation which exists in the United States where every state has a different code. One man who has been given much credit for this legal reform was Heinrich Friedberg, Jewish-born Prussian Minister of Justice. In his effort to give Germany a uniform system of law he was supported ably by Eduard Lasker, who further strove to infuse into this new judicial and legal system a liberal spirit.

From the 'eighties and onward, the bureaucratically controlled judicial system was opened in part to Jewish aspirants. Jews could now be found as state-attorneys, judges, and instructors of law at the universities. From this time forward we frequently find legal practitioners rising to the heights of scholarly distinction.*

The outstanding law journal in Germany, *Juristische Wochenschrift,* was edited for many years by Julius Magnus, who was particularly interested in effecting a uniform system of laws for both Germany and Austria. Since 1933 this journal has been "coordinated." It now frequently devotes its attention to such illuminating problems as whether a man may divorce his wife solely on the grounds that she is of non-Aryan (Jewish) origin.

German Jewish scholars have also excelled in lexicography, philology, history of literature, oriental languages, history, geography, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and many other scholarly fields.

While the Jewish academician was often admitted to the university faculties, it was extremely difficult for him to secure a full professorship in the period before the World War. Richard M. Meyer, for example, a recognized authority and author of a history of nineteenth century German literature which went through seven editions by 1923, could not gain this distinction despite his brilliance. He was never advanced beyond the rank of associate professor. In his disappointment and despair, he had his children converted, declaring to the world in a public pronouncement that he did so to spare them the repetition of his own unhappy fate. His sacrifice has, of course, been in vain; in the new racial Germany his children, though Christian, are condemned merely because he was their father.

Philipp Jaffé, the greatest of the German Jewish historians, also failed to achieve this objective. This historian—if we may accept the genealogy in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*—was a descend-

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*No attempt has been made in chapters X-XIV to give extensive lists of German Jewish writers, jurists, academicians, scientists, and artists of note. Those who wish for more detail may consult the bibliography at the end of this book, and particularly, the excellent compendium of Myerson and Goldberg, *The German Jew: His Share in Modern Culture.* A brief survey of the better known Jews in the field of history has been added as Appendix II.

ant of Mordecai Jaffé, the eminent sixteenth century Polish rabbi, who wrote a law code to supplement the standard code of his contemporaries, Caro and Isserles. (Isserles' niece was an ancestress of Karl Marx.) Jaffé began his work as a disciple of Ranke and later edited one of the first collections of papal documents.

It is a typical bit of nineteenth century tragic-comedy that a German Jew who could never hope to be a full professor in Protestant Prussia received a note of grateful acknowledgment for his papal studies from a Pope (Pius IX) who still penned up his Roman Jewish subjects in a malarial ghetto and denied them some of the most elementary civil and political rights.

Jaffé finally became a convert and two years later committed suicide; he labored under a persecution complex. "His suicide in 1870 at the age of fifty-one," says Gooch, "was an irreparable blow to medieval studies, and deprived German scholarship of one of its most exact and brilliant brains." (*History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century,* p. 116.)

One of the first unbaptized Jews to become a full professor in Germany was M. A. Stern who was given a chair of mathematics in Göttingen in 1859. Most of those who became full professors had to submit a baptismal certificate. One of the most distinguished of the latter was David Mendel (d. 1850). At the age of seventeen he became a Christian and adopted the name Johann August Wilhelm Neander (new man). His field was Church History, and in his *General History of the Christian Religion and Church* (1826-1852) he laid the foundations of the modern study of ecclesiastical history. When asked by the Prussian state if David Friedrich Strauss's radical *Life of Jesus* should be tolerated, he responded: "Scholarly works are to be fought with the weapons of science, not by the power of the state."

Not only do the beginnings of literary writing among the German Jews stem from Mendelssohn but some of the first philosophic writings in German also come from him. His *Jerusalem* was but one of a group of his philosophic studies, among which was also his prize essay on the subject: *Are the metaphysical sciences susceptible of the same demonstration as mathematics?* He received the prize in competition with the distinguished Koenigsberg philosopher, Immanuel Kant. Kant became, of course, far more important in philosophic thought and history than "the German Plato," as Mendelssohn was called. As a matter of fact, the German Jewish philosophers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were more concerned with the interpretation and expansion of the philosophy and ethics of Kant than in studying the less important Mendelssohn. Lazarus Bendavid and Dr. Markus Herz were among the very first Germans to stress the importance of Kantian teachings. It is probably this Dr. Herz, and not the famous Maimonides, who is the author of the beautiful physician's prayer which is so frequently found in the histories of medicine.

A few paragraphs of this widely read prayer will give us a vivid example of the influence of the eighteenth century German Enlightenment on the Jewish mind:

THE DAILY PRAYER OF A PHYSICIAN

> "I am about to begin the exercise of my profession. Aid me, O All-kind One, in this great work, so that it may be of avail, for without Thine assistance nothing succeeds, not even the least.
>
> "May the love of fellow-man and the love of my art ensoul me. May not thirst for gain nor craving for fame mingle in my service. For these are enemies of truth and charity, and they might mislead me and keep me from doing what I ought to do for the weal of my fellow-men.
>
> "Preserve the strength of my body and of my soul, so that I might be unperturbably ready to help the rich and the poor, the good and the bad, the enemy and the friend. Let me see in the sick the man alone. Enlighten my understanding, that I may see what is before and encompass

> it; and that I may surmise what is absent and detect what is hidden. Let my mind not sink, lest I fail to recognize what is visible and over-value it; lest, indeed, see what is not to be seen at all. For the limit in my art is lightly traced, and it comprises the health and life of men . . .
>
> "Grant that the sick have confidence in me and in my art, and that they heed my advice and orderings. Banish from their side all quacks and the host of counseling kindred, and of overwise nurses, for these are a cruel people and pervert the best intentions and thwart those who are expert in the healing art and they lead men to death . . .
>
> "All-good! Thou hast chosen me, in Thy grace, to watch over the life and death of Thy creatures. I am about to go to my labor. Be with me in this great work, so that it may avail, for without Thy help nothing succeeds, not even the smallest."

A contemporary and protégé of Mendelssohn was the rather irresponsible but brilliant Solomon Maimon. Philosophically he was more significant than Mendelssohn, his patron. He was a keen student of Kantianism and was not without influence on the German thinkers of the first half of the past century.

It was not until the second half of the past century, when university chairs were slowly made available to them, that Jews began to manifest their abilities in the fields of philosophy and psychology. Moritz Lazarus and Heymann Steinthal were among the founders of the new *Völkerpsychologie*. Some years later William Stern (b. 1871) published his renowned studies in child psychology, and even more recently Max Wertheimer (b. 1880) has achieved recognition for his work on the *Gestalt* theory in psychology.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century quite a number of Jews have made a name for themselves in the fields of metaphysics and ethics. Two of the most eminent names in modern

German metaphysics are Hermann Cohen (d. 1918) and Edmund Husserl (b. 1859). Cohen, who was keenly interested in things Jewish—he had once been a pillar of orthodoxy at the Breslau Jewish theological seminary—was the founder of a neo-Kantian school of philosophy at Marburg where he taught for many years. Husserl is, in the opinion of many, the greatest living German philosopher. He is one of the founders of the modern school of phenomenology.

"It is revealing," say Myerson and Goldberg, "to note that these phenomenologists, neo-Kantians, neo-Hegelians, and whatever schools are represented by their technical development, take a position in reference to the world's practical affairs that aligns them with the ancestral heroes of Judaism, the great prophets. In Jewish history the warrior is a secondary figure, and the glory of David is less than the glory of Isaiah. Some of these philosophers may have left Judaism, but they ascribe a spirit of rightness and obligation to the principle of the world, which is quite reminiscent of a God of justice and righteousness.

"Although they do not deny the great achievements of science, they state that meaning is more important than the facts that the scientists reveal. All agree on the reality of a spiritual nature, and although they depart from the ordinary concept of God, they identify Him finally with the activating force and principle behind the ideals and longings of mankind" (pp. 88-89).

Karl Marx, whose influence is notable in almost all social thinking, has been, without doubt, the most influential of all modern social philosophers. In a later generation Ludwig Gumplowicz (1839-1909), descendant of a family of Galician rabbis, was one of the most significant figures in modern scientific sociology. Probably influenced by Karl Marx, he posited not the class struggle, but the folk struggle as a determining factor in history. The state for him was the result of a conflict between opposing groups, one of which emerged as victor by either assimilating its opponents or imposing its will upon them. His concept of the "forceful state" has been used to attack democracy and its values.

* * *

The work of the German Jew in the social sciences has been of prime importance in the history of German thought in the last few generations. No Geistesgeschichte *of Germany can ever be written without giving an honorable place to Hermann Cohen and Edmund Husserl. No less a person than Ernst Bergmann—one of the pillars of National Socialistic philosophy—had paid his respects to these intellectual notables in* The Mind of the Nineteeth Century *which he wrote in 1922.*

But what of the German technicians? What of the great chemists and physicists and medical men who, in the past, have almost made the word "German" synonymous with "science" and scholastic "thoroughness"? What have Jews done to enhance the reputation of their Fatherland as the classical land of science and method?

CHAPTER XII

GERMAN JEWS AS SCIENTISTS

TECHNICIANS AND INVENTORS

THERE were quite a number of important inventions and discoveries made by German Jewish technicians and inventors in the course of the last century. Many of these were in the field of electricity. The very first unconverted Jew to be admitted to the Academy of Sciences in Berlin (1842), Peter T. Riess, was a physicist who wrote a number of important works on electricity and invented an electrothermometer for measuring electrical discharges. Riess's admission to the Academy was hotly contested because he refused to accept baptism, but through the vigorous intercession of Humboldt he was finally admitted. Strangely enough Riess later became a convert.

Among the inventions of Jews are electro-metallurgy (galvanoplastly, M. H. Jacobi, 1837); an electric automobile (M. Davidsohn, 1854); the first electric telephone (Philipp Reis, 1860); the first benzine automobile (Siegfried Marcus, 1875); the Graetzin-light by Leo Graetz, son of Heinrich Graetz, the Jewish historian; and the electrometer (Hermann Aron, 1884). As early as 1883, this same Aron had experimented with some degree of success in wireless telegraphy and wireless telephony.

Karl A. Arnstein was the chief engineer of the Zeppelin works and is responsible for practically all War and post-War Zeppelins. The first rigid airship to fly was built by the Hungarian Jew, David Schwarz. Emile Berliner (b. 1851), a native of Hannover who later migrated to the United States, invented the microphone, so important for telephony; he also constructed a gramophone some years before the more successful phonograph of Edison. Rudolf Goldschmidt was the first to establish wireless connection between Germany and America as a result of the

Goldschmidt high frequency machine which he invented. Robert von Lieben (d. 1913) is important for his work on radio tubes (1910).

PHYSICISTS AND MATHEMATICIANS

Heinrich R. Hertz (1859-1894), son of a converted Jew, made possible all later inventions in wireless and radio through his discovery of the Hertzian waves. Many scientists look upon him as one of the greatest physicists of all times. His nephew, Gustav Hertz (b. 1887), was accorded the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1925, together with James Franck of Göttingen. Franck, in 1933, resigned his post as a protest against the non-Aryan legislation of the German government.

"I have requested the authorities to relieve me of my office," he said in a letter to the Rector of the University of Göttingen, "but I shall try to continue my scientific work in Germany. We Germans of Jewish descent are being treated as aliens and enemies of the Fatherland. We are asked to have our children grow up in the knowledge that they must not profess themselves to be Germans. Although those who served in the war have received permission further to serve the State, I decline to avail myself of this privilege. Even so, I appreciate the viewpoint of those who deem it a duty in these times to continue at their posts."

Admittedly the most famous of all living physicists is Albert Einstein who was born in Ulm, in 1879. His special theory of relativity was proclaimed in 1905; his general theory of relativity in 1916. Einstein's theories were, naturally, in part built on the researches of other scholars, particularly the non-Jewish physicist, H. A. Lorentz. Among the men whose work has aided him are the Jewish scientists Hermann Minkowski, who was professor of mathematics at Göttingen, and Albert A. Michelson, who together with the non-Jew Morley conducted the famous Michelson-Morley experiment. Michelson, though born in Germany, was educated in the United States and there received the Nobel

Prize for Physics in 1907. Einstein's scientific work is not limited to relativity. His theory of the photo-electric effect, his work on the Brownian movement, and his formulation of quantum statistics would have been sufficient to stamp him as a scholar of note.

Many other well known workers in the field of theoretical physics are Jews, including Sommerfeld and Born who worked in quantum theory, Otto Stern who worked with Gerlach on atoms, Emmy Noether (formerly of Göttingen and now of Bryn Mawr), the world's leading woman mathematician, and her father Max Noether, the famous algebraist.

There have been quite a number of prominent astronomers and mathematicians in Germany who were of Jewish origin. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1904) lists over thirty famous mathematicians in Germany.

Shmarya Levin in his *Youth in Revolt* (p. 263) tells the following story of Kronecker, one of these famous mathematicians: "In 1891 when Croniker (Kronecker) died, the Jewish Burial Society sent its hearse for him—and found the field in the possession of the Protestant pastor, who was at the moment in the midst of his prayers for the dead. From 1883 to 1891 Croniker had continued paying his dues quietly to the Jewish community; but he had privately accepted the Protestant faith, and had been ashamed to make it known. He paid for his professorship with his Jewishness, and for his Protestantism with his taxes to the Jewish community."

Commenting on a recent work by Edmund G. H. Landau (another famous Jewish mathematician who is now on the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University), Professor Bieberbach of the University of Berlin illustrated the fact that even scientists cannot retain their intellectual equilibrium when racial chauvinism befogs their minds. Bieberbach, at the annual meeting of the Association for the Furthering of Instruction in the Mathematical and Natural Sciences (March, 1934), tried to draw a differentiation between "German" and "Jewish" mathematics. According to him they are two different worlds with a yawning chasm between them. Jewish mathematics, in general, says Bieberbach, is characterized by a juggling of concepts and a decided slyness. Aryan mathematics is original, creative; Jewish mathematics is an exploitation of existent theories, a "de-humanization" (*Entmenschlichung*) of this great science, etc. He objects to Landau's choice of problems and style of treatment which he finds to be arrogant and, hence, characteristically Jewish.

Now that Semitic mathematics has been given the *coup de grace* we may confidently look forward to the ruthless exposure of non-Aryan bacteriology, Semitic chemistry, and Jewish botany.

BOTANISTS AND BACTERIOLOGISTS

Zoology is a discipline in which Jewish scientists do not seem to have made any contribution of unusual merit. Botany, however, records the name of Nathaniel Pringsheim (d. 1894) who discovered sexuality among the lower forms of plant life. The great botanist, Matthias Jakob Schleiden, who wrote the two essays: *The Importance of the Jews for the Preservation and Revival of Learning during the Middle Ages,* and *The Romance of Martyrdom among the Medieval Jews,* was not, however, of Jewish origin. Among those who have done important research work in bacteriology, few men are better known than Ferdinand Cohn (d. 1898), the botanist, who was one of the founders of bacteriology. Cohn was the first scientist to make a "measurably adequate classification of bacteria following the recognition of the fact that they were plants, not animals." (R. E. Buchanan, *General Systematic Bacteriology,* p. 22.) He is also known for his usage of the term "bacillus."

Another bacteriologist of note was Lydia Rabinowitsch-Kempner who was born in 1871, in Kaunas, Lithuania. She worked for a time under Robert Koch and then came, in 1896, to Philadelphia where she taught at the Women's Medical College. She soon returned (1898) to Germany to the Robert Koch Institute and, in 1912, received the title of professor. She was the first woman in Prussia to be thus honored. Her special field of research is tuberculosis.

CHEMISTS

Quite a number of Jews, or men of Jewish origin, may be numbered among the greatest of German chemists. Adolf von Baeyer, who synthesized indigo, is the son of a Jewess. He received the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1905. His son, Dr. Hans Ritter von Baeyer, a Professor of Medicine at the University of Heidelberg and a well known orthopedic surgeon, has been retired because he is of non-Aryan descent. Carl Liebermann (d. 1914), one of Adolf Baeyer's pupils and his Berlin successor, synthesized (together with Gräbe, a non-Jew) alizarin, a dye stuff, from anthracene. His daughter was the wife of Hugo Preuss.

Heinrich Caro (d. 1910) was the discoverer of such important aniline dyes as aniline red, methylene blue, and a half a dozen others. He was the most successful discoverer of dyes in the nineteenth century. For many years he was the general manager of the Baden Aniline and Soda Works. Baeyer's chair at Munich was later occupied by Richard Willstätter (b. 1874), one of the greatest of modern organic chemists. Willstätter resigned his position at Munich as early as 1925, because of the anti-Semitic attitude of the faculty. In 1933, he visited America and was accorded the Willard Gibbs Medal by the Chicago Section of the American Chemical Society for his distinguished work as a research chemist.

Adolf Frank (d. 1916) and Nikodem Caro (who was born in 1871 in Poland but was trained in Germany) are both known for their process of fixing nitrogen from the air by alkalis, a discovery that proved to be of great value later in the creation of mineral fertilizers. Both men were also important industrialists. Frank is recognized as the founder of the German potash industry.

Ernst Fritz Haber was one of the greatest chemists of his day. His outstanding achievement, for which he received the 1918 Nobel Prize in Chemistry, was the creation of the synthetic ammonia process which supplied the nitrates needed in the manufacture of munitions and fertilizers and helped make War-time Germany self-sufficient. Haber was a remarkable scholar. He was a distinguished physicist and a notable worker in the fields of geology, mining, oceanography, and hygiene. We have already drawn attention to the fact that he played an important part in the organization of the chemical warfare service during the World War. His War services do not seem, however, to have earned him much gratitude on the part of the militaristic Hitler who, on May 3, 1933, accepted his resignation along with that of Freundlich, the colloid chemist, and Polanyi, the physical chemist. Haber resigned, not because his own position was threatened, but because the new German government insisted on the dismissal of his Jewish assistants.

Otto Wallach (b. 1847) received the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1910; he is known for his researches in volatile oils. Two other notable chemists were Victor Meyer (d. 1897) and Willy Marckwald (b. 1864). The latter was the chief of the chemical division of the physical-chemical institute of the University of Berlin. Victor Meyer, co-editor with Jacobson of the widely used *Textbook of Organic Chemistry,* was a brilliant and many-sided research worker. He was not only a daring and original scholar but also an able popularizer. His appreciation of art, music, and literature was sincere and thorough. Years later, after this great chemist had committed suicide, a president of the University of Nebraska, out of reverence and affection for Victor Meyer, his teacher, refused to tolerate an anti-Semitic scientific fraternity on the campus.

It is patent that some of the most important chemical industries in present day Germany are based directly on the scientific discoveries of a number of the chemists whom we have just listed.

The potash, dye, chemotherapeutic, perfume, and nitrogen industries owe much to them. These men, who have contributed materially to the economic well-being of Germany and to the enhancement of her reputation as a leader in the science of chemistry, have now been reduced to the status of tolerated aliens.

THE GERMAN JEW IN MEDICINE

Medicine is an old profession among Jews. There is an unbroken line of Jewish physicians ever since the days when Jesus ben Sirach (second century B.C.E.) offered this melancholy advice:

> "Honour a physician with the honour due unto him
> For the uses which ye may have of him:
> For the Lord hath created him. . . .
> The skill of the physician shall lift up his head:
> And in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration.
> The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth;
> And he that is wise will not abhor them. . . .
> My son, in thy sickness be not negligent:
> But pray unto the Lord,
> And He will make thee whole. . . .
> Then give place to the physician,
> For the Lord hath created him:
> Let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him.
> There is a time when in their hands there is good success."
> (Ecclesiasticus 38:1-13)

Throughout the Middle Ages, and even in early modern times, there have been many eminent Jewish practitioners and theorists. Maimonides—a Cairo court-physician in the twelfth century—was recognized in his day as a scholar in the field of medicine. The very popes who legislated against the use of Jewish doctors never hesitated to avail themselves of their services. In eighteenth century Germany, even before emancipation, there were a number of Jewish physicians. Some of the universities, both native and foreign, had for generations tolerated Jewish medical students.

The distinguishing characteristic of German Jewish medical men in the first half of the nineteenth century was their openness to new ideas and their interest in social hygiene. Thus, we find them sponsoring vaccination against smallpox, and emphasizing the importance of the care of children and pregnant and lying-in women. Already at this time German Jewry included a number of research men who were to leave their mark on medical science.

Many of them have done constructive, original work. Jakob Henle (1809-1885), one of the outstanding research men of his day, was a notable figure in the sphere of histology and anatomy. Eduard H. Henoch (1820-1910), was one of the founders of modern pediatrics; Julius Cohnheim (1839-1884) and Ludwig Traube (1818-1876) were among the great experimental pathologists. It was Traube's nephew, Albert Fränkel (1848-1916), who was the first to expound the theory that the pneumococcus was the causative agent of pneumonia and thus explain the infectious character of this disease. Benedict Stilling (1810-1879), one of the founders of neuro-physiology, was known for the new operations he introduced. He was one of the most original surgeons of his day. He was also the discoverer of a practical method for tying-off blood vessels. His refusal to accept conversion destroyed his hopes for an academic career. Moritz Schiff (1823-1896), a physiologist of great originality, is one of the important figures in the field of endocrinology (glands of internal secretion). His most important work was done on the thyroid gland. Refused the opportunity to teach medicine in Germany after the Baden revolution of 1849 because his political views were "dangerous to students," he migrated to Switzerland.

Individual Jews are associated with the introduction into Germany of psychotherapy and hypnotism as medical aids. They have also introduced hydrotherapy and special clinics for diseases of the ear and throat. They were also responsible for the first use in Germany of therapeutic gymnastics, Swedish massage, and public baths. Hermann L. Cohn of Breslau (d. 1906), more than any other individual, is responsible for the introduction of eye-hygiene among school children. His first study on the subject of children's eyes (1867), dealing with 10,000 children, was epoch making. His son is Emil Ludwig, the well-known writer of biographies.

By the second half of the past century, particularly after the 'seventies, when the Jews began to be given more opportunity in the universities, a generation of scholarly workers had developed in almost every field of medicine. These academicians not only continued their labors in the descriptive and practical fields of medicine, but also engaged in more involved theoretical and scientific problems.

In skin diseases, particularly the venereal diseases, Jewish scientists have made valuable discoveries. In 1879, Albert L. S. Neisser (1855-1916) demonstrated the bacillus of leprosy almost simultaneously with Hansen and discovered the bacillus of gonorrhea. The scientific name of gonorrhea is neisserosis. He developed the local treatment which is now universally adopted for this dread disease. There are also twenty-three varieties of bacteria which bear his name. In 1902 Neisser and others established the German Society for the Prevention of Sexual Diseases. Neisser, a convert to Christianity, frequently took Jewish assistants in his clinics and then attempted to induce them also to become converts.

August von Wassermann (1866-1925) did considerable work in immunology with Paul Ehrlich and was active in introducing the diphtheria serum and in perfecting a serological method for the diagnosis of tuberculosis. In 1906, he finally succeeded in perfecting the now universally used Wassermann blood test for the detection of syphilis.

The most creative of the serologists was Paul Ehrlich (1854-1915) who in many respects is one of the greatest figures of the last generation in medical science. In 1908, he received the Nobel Prize for Medicine, being the first unconverted German Jewish Nobel laureate. He did original work on the blood cells, in immunology, and in chemotherapy. His "side-chain theory" of immunology dominated the field until the past decade. His discovery of salvarsan ("606") for the control of syphilis was of epoch-making importance. He also did considerable research in cancer and in the problem of the transmission of acquired characteristics. Ehrlich and Wassermann, unlike Neisser, were interested in the problems and welfare of their Jewish contemporaries.

The number of famous medical men of the present generation in Germany is legion. Ferdinand Blumenthal was chief of the Berlin Institute for Cancer Research. After Hitler came to power, Blumenthal accepted a call to the University of Belgrade as associate professor. A representative of the German embassy was present when this exiled Jew was ceremoniously inducted into office. Minkowski's work on diabetes, Finkelstein's revolutionary work in infant welfare and pediatrics, Boas' pioneer work in the treatment of diseases of the digestive tract, and Zondek's discovery (with Aschheim) of the now universally used test for pregnancy may be mentioned as but a few of the outstanding contributions of Jews in the field.

Psychotherapy, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis have been fields which Austrian Jews, particularly Viennese, have cultivated with distinction. In Germany a great deal has been done along similar lines by Magnus Hirschfeld. The latter has devoted himself especially to the study of sexual psychology and sexual ethics. Together with Havelock Ellis, August Forel, and others, he established the World League for Sexual Reform on a Sexual-Scientific Basis. In Berlin he labored to create the Institute for Sexual Science and was also the editor of a number of journals and annuals in his chosen field. The new approach to the treatment and punishment of certain types of criminals is in some part due to his teachings. He was a special object of attack by the National

Socialists who, on May 6, 1933, raided and destroyed the valuable and unique library of the Institute for Sexual Science.

This type of conduct toward Jewish men of science, who have brought world-wide fame and honor to Germany through their researches and discoveries, is typical of the National Socialist regime. Practically all the better known Jewish research men have been dismissed or induced to resign their posts by the present National Socialist government in Germany. The eagerness with which medical universities in other lands have tendered posts to these men is proof of the distinction of their work. The plight of the equally scientific "lesser luminaries" who have not attained the fame and renown of their more fortunate colleagues is, however, very grave.

GERMAN JEWISH EXPLORERS

Daring Jews have not only explored the human body and soul but have also explored far off lands and strange countries. The great adventure of exploring, certainly of travelling, has always appealed to Jews. A number of years ago J. D. Eisenstein published a Hebrew source book, *The Treasury of Travels,* composed solely of accounts of the travels and adventures of Jewish worthies.

One of the most romantic of these bold spirits was Emin Pasha (Isaac Eduard Schnitzer, b. 1840). As governor of the Equatorial Province in Africa he made a number of important exploratory trips and collected some valuable scientific data. It seems to have been his ambition to create a colonial empire for Germany in Central Africa. He was murdered by Arab slave traders in 1892. Hermann Burchardt explored South Arabia and was finally assassinated on the Mecca-Sanaah road. Eduard Glaser (1855-1908) made four important trips through South Arabia and collected valuable ethnographic, historical, and epigraphical materials.

* * *

When we turn from the fields of the sciences to the realm of music what part does the German Jew play? In the last edition of the voluminous German Handbook of the Jewish Question *the author of the chapter on "Jewry in Music" denies to the Jew musical creativity and then naively proceeds to enumerate at least two hundred well known musical artists many of whom are German Jews. Who are some of these men and in what fields have they worked?*

CHAPTER XIII

THE JEW IN GERMAN MUSIC

MENDELSSOHN-BARTHOLDY AND MEYERBEER

AS the wealthier Jews of Germany and German Austria broadened their cultural and aesthetic horizon, they became more and more interested in the tonal arts. In the days of the liberal Emperor Joseph II of Austria, known for his "Patent of Tolerance," a number of Jews aided the brilliant musicians of the time. For a while Baron Wetzlar was host to Mozart, and godfather, also, to one of his children.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the first Jews in Germany to play some part in its musical history came from this cultured group. The two best known names in the first half of the nineteenth century are Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (d. 1847) and Giacomo Meyerbeer (d. 1864). Mendelssohn's father, Abraham, was an able Berlin banker whose lot in life was to be known merely as the son of Moses Mendelssohn and the father of Felix. Meyerbeer, too, was the son of a Berlin banker, Jacob Herz Beer, who together with Israel Jacobson, another financier, had been active in establishing the first liberal religious service in Berlin. Three of Beer's sons, Jacob (Giacomo), Michael, and Wilhelm, devoted themselves to the arts and sciences: Michael was a poet; Giacomo, a composer; and Wilhelm, an astronomer.

Despite the fact that Meyerbeer was General-Musical-Director in Berlin under Frederick William IV, and not without influence on his fellow-Germans, his work, largely in the form of operas, is essentially French in character. He found little difficulty in assimilating different national schools of music, but because of this facile adaptation of the French and Italian styles he has been severely criticized by later, more nationalistically-minded critics.

Another German, a Rhinelander, who was strongly subject to

French influence, is Jacques Offenbach (d. 1880), one of the creators of the modern operetta, and the composer of the delightful *Tales of Hoffmann.* Since the days of Offenbach many Jews have written tuneful and popular operettas. Among the better known composers for the German stage are Leo Fall (d. 1925), Jean Gilbert (Max Winterfeld), Hirsch, Nelson, Emerich Kálmán, and Oscar Strauss.

Mendelssohn's music is much more Germanic than Meyerbeer's. His melodies, many of them sentimentally German, have become folk songs; his oratorios, *St. Paul* and *Elijah,* and his church music were sung and admired not only in Germany but also in England. He merits the gratitude of Germany and of the world of music because of his revival of Bach, and his creation, in 1843, of the Leipzig Conservatory of Music. Aided by such distinguished Jewish musicians as Moscheles, the pianistic interpreter of Beethoven, and by Joachim, the violinist (Royal Academy for Music), he gave status to musical education in Germany and invested it with a sense of dignity. This should have entitled him and his family to the lasting gratitude of all Germans. His grandson, Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, was a distinguished jurist of the University of Hamburg, and co-editor of the archives of the German Foreign Office. He was nevertheless compelled by the leaders of the Third Empire to resign his post. As early as 1920, this grandson of a converted Jew had run athwart of anti-Semitism in the University of Würzburg where he had a chair in civil law. His cousin, Franz von Mendelssohn, the present head of the international banking firm of Mendelssohn and Company, is far more fortunate. According to newspaper accounts, Franz, the son of a converted Jew, has been granted a diploma which certifies that he is an Aryan.

WAGNER AND THE JEWS

The simple and delightful melodies of Mendelssohn and the brilliant and striking compositions of Meyerbeer did not impress the thunderous Wagner. In 1850, he wrote his critical and cruel *Judaism in Music* in which, among other things, he voiced his objections to Jewish musicians, especially Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn. He denied musical character to the work of the former and charged musical sterility to the latter. The activity of the Jew in music in the middle of the last century he likened to that of worms feeding on a dead body and giving it the illusion of life.

In his attack on the Jews, and particularly upon Meyerbeer, Wagner employed a pseudonym. He did not even mention Meyerbeer by name (he was still living), but everyone knew who was meant. Possibly Wagner felt some compunction in attacking the kindly man who had befriended him, given him money, and had recommended the production of two of his operas, *Rienzi* and *The Flying Dutchman*. Wagner's contempt for musical "Jews"—to him a "Jew" was often anyone whose work did not measure up to his standard—did not prevent him from entrusting the first production of *Parsifal* (1882) to the Jewish conductor, Hermann Levi. It was a Jew, Karl Tausig, a distinguished pianist, who evolved the plan to raise funds for Wagner's Bayreuth project, and it was another Jew, George Davidsohn, editor of the *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, who was in the van of the Wagner admirers and who founded the first *Wagnerverein* in Berlin.

THE POST-WAGNERIAN AUSTRIANS

In the field of post-Wagnerian German music three Jewish names are well known: Karl Goldmark, Gustav Mahler, and Arnold Schönberg, all three of them Austrians. Goldmark (d. 1915), a Viennese, was a prolific and popular composer. Some of his early works show the influence of Mendelssohn; many of them evince a Hebraic touch which may be due to the influence of his home—his father was a cantor in a Hungarian town. In general, Jewish composers in the German lands manifested no specific Jewish note in their musical writings. They patterned themselves, consciously or unconsciously, after the prevalent national or European schools.

Gustav Mahler (d. 1911) was one of the outstanding symphonic conductors of his day but will live primarily through his musical compositions, symphonies, and songs. His symphonies, mystical and romantic, were the outpourings of a troubled soul reaching out and striving for spiritual certainty. His *Lieder* are known for their intelligibility, their simplicity, and their appealing character. Like Schönberg, but less successfully, he attempted to break with post-Wagnerian romanticism and to turn to new modes of musical expression.

Arnold Schönberg (b. 1874) belongs to a school of which he himself was largely the creator. He is essentially a modernist, a musical expressionist who seeks to portray and express experiences rather than describe them. A host of younger writers follow him in the attempt to breathe new life into the old forms of musical composition.

A new light on the musical horizon, influenced in some respects by Schönberg, is Erich Wolfgang Korngold (b. 1897), son of the well-known Viennese music critic, Julius Korngold. Erich's unusual talent manifests itself primarily in the composition of operas and songs. At the age of eleven he had already written the pantomime *Der Schneemann* which was produced in Vienna, in 1910. Schönberg was, until recently, an instructor in Berlin; with the advent of the National Socialists he migrated to the United States.

CONDUCTORS AND VIRTUOSOS

The opposition to "non-Aryans" has brought about the retirement of a number of well-known German Jewish conductors, among them, Bruno Walter (Schlesinger) and Otto Klemperer. Leo Blech, for some unknown reason, has been allowed to remain. Among the better-known Berlin instrumental virtuosos are Karl Flesch, the violinist, and Artur Schnabel, the pianist.

The census of 1925 reveals that in Prussia out of a total of

41,559 German musicians, 899 were Jews. In this field, too, it must be concluded, the eminence of the Jew appears to have been qualitative and not quantitative.

There are also in Germany a number of able music critics, music publishers, and historians of music. Richard Specht, Viennese writer and music critic, has written good biographies of Beethoven and Brahms; Franz Werfel's *Verdi* is not only good literature but also good musical history.

* * *

The participation of the Jew in the musical life of his native Germany is not a mere accident of contemporary culture. Over 300 years ago (1580), when Berlin was still an obscure town, the Jewish musicians of German Prague were heard and admired at Christian weddings and baptismal parties. In the somewhat allied fields of the arts and crafts the Jew was also known for generations as [illegible] goldsmith, engraver, and miniature painter. It is only with the advent of the nineteenth century, however, that the German Jew began to express himself in the world of painting and sculpture. The story of this growth in artistry is the theme of the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

THE JEW AND THE ART OF GERMANY

ART BEFORE THE EMANCIPATION

THE medieval German Jew—like all other Jews—was not particularly interested in the various forms of pictorial art. Rabbinic law objected to sculpture: it was too closely associated with the Roman pagan cults and the medieval church decorations and services. Art was historically too intimately aligned with "idolatry" to appeal to the Jew of those days.

Naturally there were exceptions: Fra Salvatore Vitale tells us of a Jewish sculptor in Spain (1214) who made a portrait bust of Francis of Assisi. The eighteenth century synagogue in Sienna had a statue of Moses in front of the building. Individual Jews with artistic ability found it necessary to express themselves despite the tradition and did so through various types of manuscript ornamentation and illustration. It was very difficult, however, for those with artistic inclinations to learn the mechanics of their craft. Christian painters, sculptors, and engravers were loath to teach non-Christians and non-guild-members their technique and their secrets.

The elementary desire for the decorative and the beautiful, which requires but little training and cannot be controlled by religious tradition, found adequate, popular expression among the Jews in the appurtenances of their ritual and religious life. Beautiful embroideries and needlework of various types were done by men as well as women for the curtains of the ark, the covers of the Torah and the pulpit, the praying shawl, the *tefillin* bag, and particularly the *Torah Wimpel.* These *Wimpels* (pennants) were made of the choicest of materials and were worn as swaddling clothes by an infant at the ceremony of circumcision. Then they were cut into strips and sewed together to make a long banner. At the first anniversary of the birth of the child, or during his first visit to the synagogue, the *Wimpel* was presented to the synagogue where it was used to bind together the two arms of the Torah scroll. The artistic value of these *Wimpels* lies in the embroidery, the painted pictures, the symbols, the lettering, and the ornamentation found upon them. Some are of striking beauty and charm and represent a close approach to Jewish folk-art.

Another rich source of Jewish art is found in the cult utensils, both in precious and in common metals, which were created by Jews. The prevalence of the name "Goldschmidt" among Jews is in itself sufficient indication of the participation of Jews in the gold and silver crafts. However, Jewish craftsmen were by no means the sole artificers of the metal cult objects used by Jews. Many, no doubt, were made by Gentile workmen.

Ornaments in precious metals which were universally used were the perpetual lamp that swung above the shrine of the Torah, the crowns and bells and pomegranates which were set on the Torah staves, the highly ornamented breastplates used for the scroll, and the "hand" or pointer used to guide the reader. For the home there were beautifully engrossed and chased *kiddush* and *habdalah* cups, boxes for *etrogim,* silver filigree covers for prayer books, and many varieties of beautiful menorahs (candelabra), Sabbath lamps, *Seder* and *Purim* plates.

Engraving on metal and precious stones was a popular Jewish craft; in the hands of masters it became an art. The seal-engraver, Levin Josef, was paid a thousand thalers by Frederick I of Prussia (ca. 1700) for performing the difficult feat of cutting the royal coat-of-arms into a diamond. This particular family is said to have provided four generations of Court-seal-engravers.

One hardly thinks of artistic life as connected with the resting place of the dead, yet some of the most interesting phases of artistic expression are found in the cemeteries. The tombstones and sepulchres, particularly of Prague and Hamburg (Altona), are rich in beauty and artistic symbolism. The dignified flat gravestones of the Portuguese cemetery of the Altona community may not have been designed by Jewish artists, but their carvings certainly testify to the growing artistic sense of the Jew. Within the last few decades the Berlin Jewish community has created in its cemetery at Weissensee a complete harmony of landscape and sculpture that makes this resting place a notable example of beauty.

The synagogues of Germany, whether medieval or early modern, have been neither distinctive nor unusual. They have not made their mark in either a German or a specifically Jewish art. There is possibly one exception to this general rule: the wooden synagogues of south Germany that date from the eighteenth century. This type of wooden synagogue was introduced into Bavaria by Polish Jewish refugees fleeing, very probably, from distress and suffering at home. What is most distinctive about these buildings is the rich decoration, the florid scrolls, the lettering and the animal figures that cover the ceilings and the walls of these village houses of worship. The architects here were probably Jewish; the painters certainly were. Primitive as this synagogue type is, it is important as a synthesis of a unique Jewish art and a unique architecture.

MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS AS OBJECTS OF ART

The murals in such south German synagogues as that in Bechhofen, Bavaria, do not mark the first appearance of German Jews as painters and artists. Jews began to illustrate Hebrew manuscripts in the Middle Ages, particularly Passover Haggadahs. There are hundreds of illuminated Haggadahs extant, a number of them of German origin. For instance, there is a thirteenth or early fourteenth century Franco-German Haggadah with the rather bizarre picture of a man knocking acorns off an oak tree for a pig underneath. The Esther scroll and the *ketubah,* the marriage contract, were also richly illustrated although this type of scroll and *ketubah* ornamentation was not as common in Germany as in other lands.

The first printed illustrated Haggadah came from a German city, Prague, in 1526. The strong dependence on contemporary artistic themes—and this is true of all medieval and early modern Jewish art—is reflected in the boat scene in the Prague Haggadah which is naught but a copy of the wonderful catch of the apostolic Galilean fisherman, St. Peter.

The rather humble beginnings of illustrated Jewish books in Germany have born fruit finally in the twentieth century in a growing number of beautiful works. For the first time in centuries the Jews are again printing beautiful books. Typography, illustration, ornamentation, and binding—all these are evidences of the high standards the German Jew had established in the making of books. The illustrations of Lilien, Budko, Steinhardt, and Michelson have served as examples and types for Jewish publishers everywhere. In 1924, the Soncino Society of the Friends of the Jewish Book was established in Berlin to further the publication of more beautiful Hebrew books, and to reprint and reproduce the more attractive and rarer works of the past. They take their name, of course, from the Soncinos, the first family of notable Jewish printers.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN PAINTING

It is not until the early nineteenth century that painting, as an artistic discipline, really began to receive recruits from Jews. There were, to be sure, miniature portraitists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of them quite famous, but this type of portraiture was more of a craft than an art and died with the rise of photography. As a matter of fact much of the artistry of the Jew of the pre-emancipation period belongs primarily to the field of the crafts.

The civil emancipation of the Jews brought more than the right to vote and be voted for, more than the privilege of physically entering into the picture galleries. It meant the opportunity to develop their latent aesthetic sense and to implement it in any form or fashion that their temperament directed. It meant the opportunity to express their personality completely, unhampered and unhindered.

It was unfortunate that as the German Jews entered the world of real art, Germany, following its victories over Napoleon, entered into a period of romanticized German medievalism and idealized Catholicism. A Jew who would then be an artist had to join the "Nazarenes" body and soul, and some did. Among these romantics were Johannes and Philipp Veit, grandsons of Moses Mendelssohn. Philipp Veit was a man of considerable influence and ability. Most of his pictures were religious in theme. Typical among them is *The Triumph of Christianity, The Introduction of Art into Germany by Christianity,* and *Germania,* an allegorical canvas depicting Germany as a young matron. Another painter of this same period who devoted his talents to biblical and religious themes was Eduard Bendemann, still another descendant of the famous Friedländer family, who is known for his *Jews Mourning in the Babylonian Exile* and his *Jeremiah at the Fall of Jerusalem.*

The first German Jew who studied with the German-Romans and still remained a loyal Jew was Moritz Oppenheim (d. 1882). Some of his first sketches nevertheless dealt with such themes as *The Return of the Prodigal* and *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well.* In Germany, where he blossomed under the patronage of the Rothschilds, he became known, in Jewish circles at least, by his pictures of Jewish family life which are still popular. These pictures represent the influence of the romantic movement on the Jew. At the time they were painted Jewish ceremonial and ritual were already dying out; this was an attempt to hold on to their waning glamour. Oppenheim's artistic character manifests itself at its best in his portraits of Börne, Heine, and of his own bride, Adelheid Cleve. At Goethe's suggestion, the Grand Duke Karl August of Saxe-Weimar conferred the honorary title of professor on the painter.

THE IMPRESSIONISTS

About the third quarter of the nineteenth century people began to be dissatisfied with the romantic and didactic painters. They began to tire of monumental, instructive, historical canvases and sought a more personal and individual expression of artistry. They wanted art to reflect a temperament, not a reasoned opinion. Thus was impressionism born. Among the important impressionists of the past generation we must number Camille Pissaro in France, Josef Israels in Holland, and Lesser Ury in Germany.

However, in the latter country, far more significant in this artistic movement than Ury is Max Liebermann (b. 1847), one of the grand old men of modern painting. His *Women Plucking Geese, Preserve Makers, Old Men's Home,* and *Playing Children* are but a few of the many canvases that reflect his rugged simplicity, his broad sympathetic humanity, and his complete freedom from cloying sentimentality. Lesser Ury, his contemporary (d. 1931), was a true child of the impressionistic age. He has very little of Liebermann's Dutch realism. His glimpses of city life with its light and shade and its rain-spattered, glistening streets, like his *Potsdamer Platz,* are destined to become classics.

Liebermann has influenced German art not merely as a painter but as a leader of men. About 1899, with the aid of Paul Cassirer, the art dealer, he founded the Berlin Secession, the rallying point of the younger artists who had revolted against the older schools. Liebermann is, in addition, a brilliant writer, expressing himself with a brutal frankness and clarity and an ironic humor that betray his north German origin. For many years he was president of the Prussian Academy of Arts but resigned in 1933 in protest against the new government of Adolf Hitler.

Liebermann has had the unique experience of living through a series of artistic ages. Born in an epoch still romantic (even he has a *Christ in the Temple*), he turned to naturalistic impressionism and has survived the whole generation of expressionists who have either supplemented or revolted against his own school.

German expressionism, which arose shortly before the War, is not so much interested in the world without as in the world within, the individual. It sees not with the eye, but with the heart. It can be temperamental, mystical, religious, ecstatic, or bizarre. Some writers say that it is a type of art particularly suited to the Jewish psyche.

This may be true, but it has as yet produced no great figure in German painting. Marc Chagall, the ecstatic visionary, is a Russian, who was trained in Paris and has lived in Berlin. Unquestionably he has influenced others through his fantastic method of pictorial narrative. The unorthodox nature of expressionistic painting was prejudicial to its acceptance by a world accustomed to conventional picturization.

Jakob Steinhardt's etchings of East European figures, however, deserve enthusiastic reception. Their emotionalism is almost uncanny. Liebermann, Ury, and quite a number of the younger men like Oppler, Spiro, Feigl, Michelson, Oppenheimer, Budko, and Steinhardt did not limit themselves merely to the brush but were equally adept as etchers and lithographers. Lilien and Hermann Struck have been particularly popular because of the appeal of their Jewish types.

THE JEW IN THE PLASTIC ARTS

Karl Schwarz in his valuable sketch, *The Jews in Art,* tells us that the Jew has experienced great difficulty in entering into the field of the plastic arts. The Jew has found it difficult, he claims, to develop a feeling for rhythm and form, the absolute art which is so different from all that is speculative and thoughtful. The Jew, he says, is too accustomed to lift his eyes to the heavens above to cherish any ideal of artistic perfection on the earth beneath. This is the reason, he feels, why the Jew has begun so late to express himself in sculpture and architecture.

Although Schwarz's ingenious analysis sounds plausible, it is more probable that the late entrance of the Jew into the plastic arts is due as much to practical as to psychical circumstances. In Germany, sculpture was an art patronized by the royal and princely courts. Prior to 1918 the state looked with disfavor on Jewish sculptors and gave them scant encouragement. Those who had talent in the plastic arts had to content themselves with the more modest field of the medal, the plaque, the relief, and the tombstone.

Jewish *médailleurs* were frequent in German history. This is manifestly an art somewhat allied to that of the engraver. At the beginning of the nineteenth century one of the most notable workers in this field was Abraham Abramson, son of the royal medal-engraver of the mint, Jakob Abraham. Abramson (1754-1811) did medal portraits of a number of German scholars such as Mendelssohn, Lessing, and Kant.

He also did a special medal for Israel Jacobson to commemorate the emancipation of the Jews in the Kingdom of Westphalia, January 27, 1808. On the one side, the coin pictures liberated Judea, her broken shackles at her feet, kneeling in thanks at the altar fires of Napoleonic liberalism. Beside her rest the tablets of the Ten Commandments. The legend runs: "For God and the fatherly king." The reverse of the medal pictures two little winged cupids (Judaism and Christianity) joined in sweet fraternal embrace. At their feet, resting against diminutive altars, lie the New Testament and the Tablets of the Law in mute *vis-à-vis*. Around the edge of the medal runs the Latin legend: "United in the Kingdom of Westphalia." For Jacobson the millenium had come. The year 1808 ushered in the best of all possible worlds. No wonder he stopped worrying about the coming of the Messiah.

But back in Prussian Berlin, Abramson's Jewish origin closed many doors to him even though he was an artist of ability. It was not until the twentieth century with its greater freedom and opportunity that sculptors like Benno Elkan and Arnold Zadikow were able to gain a foothold. Elkan's war monument, dedicated *To Those Who Have Been Sacrificed,* is a perfect union of emotion, rhythm, and pure form. His achievement is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that he acquired and developed his art through his own efforts, without any formal schooling. Zadikow, his contemporary, is noted for his placques, his portrait busts, and his memorial tombstones. K. H. Isenstein (b. 1898), is a talented young sculptor who has already made busts of Einstein, Emil Ludwig, and Ernst Cassirer, the philosopher.

MODERN ARCHITECTURE

It is strange that the Jews, one of the most religious of peoples, have apparently never given serious attention to the architecture of their synagogues. It was not until 1838 that a modern Jewish architect, Albert Rosengarten, designed a synagogue in Germany. A young contemporary of his, Henry Fernbach, migrated to the United States at the age of twenty-seven and there built the old Temple Emanu-El in New York City. The style he adopted was the Moorish, which was in turn copied by a number of communities throughout the land, notably by Congregation Bene Yeshurun of Cincinnati, in whose beautiful Plum Street Temple Isaac Mayer Wise officiated for so many years.

In the last decade or two, synagogal architecture in Germany has taken on a new lease of life. There has been a conscious departure from the conventional Romanesque and the occasional Gothic, in the attempt to create structures which, while modernistic, are yet simple and inspiring, and reflect the worshipful spirit of each particular community. The results have been striking. The Berlin Prinzregentenstrasse synagogue, designed by the government architect, Alexander Beer, is a model of harmonious lines and inspiring grandeur. The small, square building at Marienwerder is unique in its simplicity yet distinctive in its beauty. The synagogue at Plauen is a radical attempt to adapt the new horizontal line of the modern business structure to a sacred edifice.

Buildings with dominant horizontal lines, a type influenced by American models, have been the particular creation in Germany of Erich Mendelsohn. Working with iron, glass, and concrete, he has brought rhythm into architecture. He has designed important structures in Germany, Russia, and Palestine and has written a number of works wherein he gives expression to his concept of architecture. It was inevitable that this modernist, with his strong anti-traditional prejudices, should find no possible spiritual home for himself in Hitler's romantic and mystical empire. He left Germany for England.

Yet, through Mendelsohn and the older Messel, new life has come into German architecture. Before their day, the only Jewish architect of distinction was Georg H. F. Hitzig, great-grandson of the distinguished Berlin banker, Daniel Itzig, and son of the converted Jew, Julius Eduard Hitzig, an authority on criminal law. This sanctimonious Julius (H)Itzig is Heine's pet abomination, the "Holy Hitzig" to whom he makes frequent unsavory reference. Georg Hitzig (d. 1881) built the Stock Exchange, the Reichsbank, and the Institute of Technology in Berlin.

Alfred Messel (1853-1909) was one of the outstanding architects of the Wilhelminian state. Already in the 'eighties he had gained eminence through his insistence that government and business structures should be built primarily with a view to fitness for their specific purpose. Beauty and monumental character, while important, were of only secondary importance to him. This new modern concept of an expedient architecture is called "right building." Messel planned the first modern department store building in Berlin. He also designed the new Berlin Museum complex, one of the largest in the world, and a large number of important business structures. It has been said that he did more than any other single individual to change the face of metropolitan Berlin. Like many other Jewish notables, his academic advancement was attained only at the price of conversion. He was professor at the *Kunstgewerbemuseum.*

ART SOCIETIES AND MUSEUMS

The growing interest in the specific manifestations of Jewish art has brought into existence a series of Jewish art societies and museums. The larger Jewish communities like Berlin, Breslau, Mainz, Frankfort, and Hamburg, have their own exhibition rooms where art treasures of Jewish interest are placed on view. In Frankfort, Würzburg, Kassel, and Hamburg, the public museums, too, have sections for objects of Jewish art. Notable collections of Jewish art are also owned by private individuals. One of these collections, made by S. Kirchstein, was acquired several years ago by the Hebrew Union College. This movement owes a tremendous debt to Heinrich Frauberger (1845-1920), a Gentile museum director, who supplied the initial stimulus as well as constant encouragement to the work of assembling, studying, and exhibiting the synagogal and ritual treasures of the Jew. He founded the Society for the Study of Jewish Art Remains* and edited its publication, thus doing much to further a scientific and systematic knowledge of Jewish expression in art.

Statistically, of the 6,980 men and women associated in some form with the graphic and plastic arts in Prussia, 317 were Jewish (1925).

We have seen, thus, that while the Jew was slow to enter the field of art for a variety of reasons, the dawn of the twentieth century found him already well entrenched. His growing appreciation of the fine arts appears to have an abiding character, for in all of the larger communities there are Jews who are devoting themselves, with considerable success, to architecture, interior designing, and the graphic and plastic arts.

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*A systematic, detailed list of important German Jewish organizations may be found in Appendix III.

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It is not easy to prognosticate the merit which will still adhere in the future to those who have labored in the different fields of the arts and sciences. Yet the award of a Nobel Prize to a humanitarian, writer, or scientist is so universally accepted as a mark of great and enduring distinction, that a brief survey of the German Jewish winners of this prize should serve, to some degree, as a measure of the cultural creativity of the Jew in Germany.

CHAPTER XV

JEWS AS NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS

THE contribution of the Jews to the cultural life of Germany may be symbolized, in summary, by their record as winners of the Nobel Prize. Of the thirty-eight Germans who have been awarded this high honor since its establishment, eleven were Jews (1933). The list of these German Jewish prize winners includes pre-War converts and half-Jews as well as those who have not severed their connections with their faith. Their names follow:

1. Adolf von Baeyer, Munich, 1905, Chemistry.
2. Paul Ehrlich, Frankfort, 1908, Medicine.
3. Paul Heyse, Munich, 1910, Literature.
4. Otto Wallach, Göttingen, 1910, Chemistry.
5. Richard Willstätter, Munich, 1915, Chemistry.
6. Fritz Haber, Berlin, 1918, Chemistry.
7. Albert Einstein, Berlin, 1921, Physics.
8. Otto Meyerhof, Berlin, 1922, Medicine.
9. Gustav Hertz, Germany, 1925, Physics.
10. James Franck, Göttingen, 1925, Physics.
11. Otto Warburg, Berlin, 1931, Medicine.

If we regard Austria as a German nation, this list must be augmented by the names of the three Jews who were awarded the Nobel Prize out of a total of six laureates from Austria. Their names are:

1. Alfred H. Fried, Vienna, 1911, Peace.
2. Robert Bárány, Vienna, 1914, Medicine.
3. Karl Landsteiner, New York, 1930, Medicine. (Landsteiner is an Austrian by birth and training.)

Albert A. Michelson, the famous American physicist and Nobel laureate, is a German-born Jew, though reared and educated in the United States. Even if we exclude him from our count, the Jewish stock which, according to Hitler, exerts a degrading and contaminating influence upon German culture, has contributed eleven out of the thirty-eight German Nobel laureates, or 29 per cent, about twenty-nine times its proportionate share compared to the Aryan stocks. In addition, 50 per cent of the Austrian prize winners are Jews.

It is interesting to note that the majority of the Jewish Nobel laureates earned their distinction since the beginning of the War. In a sense they represent part of the harvest which Germany was beginning to reap as a result of the more liberal policy which was gradually being adopted toward the Jew. What the remainder of this harvest might have yielded toward the enrichment of German cultural life will never be known, for the Third Reich has chosen to mow down and destroy every blade still standing.

This ruthless process of cultural emasculation is being pushed to extremes unheard of even in the darkest days of medievalism. Not only have mature scholars and academicians been driven from their posts, but all roads toward scholarship have been blocked for the Jew, from the universities down to the secondary schools. What the Nazis fear specifically is difficult to imagine. In 1932 (summer semester) there were 119,326 Germans in all the German universities and technical schools of whom 3,950 were professing Jews (3.3 per cent). The vigorous means adopted to eliminate the competition afforded by this minority would be flattering if the consequences were not so devastating.

And lest the Jew retreat to his own inner cultural fastnesses, there to preserve the traditions of scholarship which he has cherished for ages, the latest decrees of the National Socialists (1934) bar him even from his own higher Jewish educational institutions. A decree of the Prussian *Kultusminister* (April 7, 1934) prohibits Jewish secondary schools, both public and *private,* from admitting any new students in 1934. Whether this law will apply also to the religious seminaries remains to be seen.

The readiness with which some Jewish intellectuals in Germany have in the past century forsaken their ancestral faith, either to gain coveted positions to which their Jewishness was an insurmountable bar, or to document their complete devotion to the cultural life of their beloved Fatherland, tinges all these restrictions with irony as well as tragedy. Unless we consider as Jewish such a general trait as devotion to scholarship, which is certainly the exclusive possession of no one group, the work of this whole class of men can in hardly any sense at all be called Jewish. Still, Werner Sombart and others do believe that there was something typically Jewish in the labors of the Jewish intellectuals. This was the moral note which they stressed and which supplied the motivation for their efforts to enlighten, to heal, and to help struggling humanity; this was their dogged persistence in bringing "the ethical tone into the concert of humanity."

Whether or not the regimentation, which the Third Reich imposes on cultural activity as rigorously as on all other phases of life, will lead to the advancement of German civilization may perhaps be a moot question. One is prompted to believe that the general spirit of complete intellectual and social regulation will not be favorable to scholarship and artistic progress, even in a purified Aryan state. Of the cultural decline of German Jewry, there can, however, be no doubt.

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The German Jew has a duty not only to the state in which he lives but also to himself as a Jew. Unlike the Jews in the United States and many other lands, he has a traditional form of communal organization which is a little world in itself. He has his own religious parties, his own politico-communal parties, his own social welfare institutions, all within the framework of a specific Jewish Community. In the following chapter we shall describe the nature and the problems of this community life of the German Jew.

CHAPTER XVI

THE INNER LIFE OF JEWRY UNTIL 1933

THE FAITH OF THE MEDIEVAL GERMAN JEW: 1000 TO 1700

THE inner life of the German Jew from 1000 to 1700 was distinguished by its spiritual character. His piety was proverbial; his life and manners, simple and unpretentious; his loyalty to the teachings of his fathers, intense. Yet in no other land of medieval Europe has a group been called upon to testify more heroically to its love and devotion for its faith.

It is difficult to determine why the persecutions in Germany should have been more continuous and more brutal than in any other land, but the fact is that they were. Even so, the myriads of martyrs there met their fate with a sincerity and a simplicity that has inspired thousands throughout the succeeding generations. The martyrologies written by their contemporaries have ever since been a popular source of courage and strength to Jews whose lot was hard to bear.

The writers and thinkers of those days were almost exclusively Talmudists and Cabalists. The earlier mystics worked to intensify devotion and piety and stressed the importance of Bible study. The later mystics and ethical writers taught that by reverent thought and conduct the Jew could rise above the mundane commonplaces and become a true member of the kingdom of God. Every act of life was to be sanctified by the Jew that it might call to mind his religious obligations and encourage him to mystic contemplation. All of life must be saturated with the spirit of the Divine; the soul must aspire to its original source, God. This was the teaching of men like Isaiah Horowitz (d. 1628).

The German Talmudists were sound rather than brilliant scholars. There were no philosophers or scientists among them. Jewry lived in a religious and social world largely its own. Every large community had its own rabbis who served not merely as religious leaders but as civil magistrates. These rabbis in turn cooperated with an elective council of solid citizens who were the actual administrators of the Jewish community. The institutions in the average town included a school, a public bath house, a communal bakery, a well, a social hall, a hospice that often did duty as a hospital also, a cemetery, and, most important of all, a synagogue. The synagogue was not only the basic religious institution but also served as the nucleus of many of the activities of the ritual life of the Jews, especially of activities of a social character. Here marriages were solemnized, the birth of children was announced, *Bar Mizwah* took place, travelers were welcomed, etc.

THE "GEMEINDE" (COMMUNITY) AND ITS ORGANIZATION

In the year 1700, the Prussian state, which by virtue of its size and location has for many years contained the largest German Jewish community, formulated the legal status of the Jews within its borders. The law of 1700 was followed by a series of others, the most important one being enacted in 1847. Under the terms of this statute every Jew is regarded as such by virtue of being *born* into the Jewish community and is therefore subject to taxation for its support. The Community (*Gemeinde*) members elect a body of representatives who in turn elect an executive council which is charged, through its own efforts and those of its committees, with the actual administration of the affairs of the Community. The state has always reserved the right of exercising some supervision over this council in the interest of the public welfare. It does not, however, interfere in matters of religious belief.

The 1919 republican constitution of Weimar granted the communities complete freedom from state interference and other privileges, some of which were not, however, implemented. Nevertheless, women were now given the vote and financial aid was granted by the state to Jewish communities, thus putting them on the same plane as the Catholics and the Protestants.

For the support of the Jewish community, the Jew is obligated by the authority of the state to pay a definite, fixed amount of taxes. In Berlin, for instance, the individual Jewish taxpayer is required to pay for this purpose a percentage of his income tax; in 1926 this amounted to 15 per cent. The funds received into the Jewish Community treasury of Berlin in 1926 were applied as follows: 17% for administration and other services, 7% for general Jewish aid, 18% for education, 22% for synagogal matters, and 36% for communal philanthropy and social welfare work.

What does the Community, which embraces all the Jews of a city or area, do for its members? It provides religious services, religious education, schools for teachers, libraries, museums, and a communal newspaper. Some also include within their organization (this is true at least of Berlin) homes for the aged, the disabled, the blind, and the orphaned. The Berlin *Gemeinde* also has an employment bureau, a convalescent home, hospitals, clinics, cemeteries, and a few parochial schools. It is the *Gemeinde* also which helps organize the sport and play life of the youth.

It is the function of the *Gemeinde,* likewise, to defend and maintain the civil and constitutional rights of the Jews, to subvention Jewish organizations of a religious, scientific, or even general character, and to encourage all Jewish religious groups regardless of their specific point of view. Even more, it works in cooperation with other communities in the state and the country at large and aids all international Jewish organizations of a religious and social character.

Germany, it must be borne in mind, was until 1933 a union of federal republics; Prussia, for instance, the largest of them all, had fifteen states or provinces within its own border. Every town of any size having a Jewish group is organized into a community under a communal statute enacted by the respective federal republics. These statutes, of which the Prussian law of 1847 is an example, vary in every one of the seventeen German republics. In practically all of these republics, as in Prussia, Bavaria, and the like, particularly since the post-War period, the communities are united into a state association of communities. These state associations attempted for years to create a national union of all German Jewish communities to handle all matters that required common action as well as to represent German Jewry in the governmental bureaus. They did not, however, succeed in doing so until 1933, although they did organize a temporary Working Committee in 1928 to handle such matters. An institution somewhat similar to the Working Committee in Germany is the Synagogue Council of America, although the latter institution has very little authority.

Prior to the creation of this temporary Working Committee, two national organizations had been created to represent German Jewry and to work toward the solution of its many problems. One was the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeinde Bund* (German Israelitish Communal Association) which was organized in 1872, a union of over one hundred Jewish communities. This organization has worked in many fields, such as apologetics, education, and social welfare. It still exists, but is now merely a philanthropic organization. In 1904, the *Verband der Deutschen Juden* (Union of German Jews), a private society, was called into being for much the same purpose. After a fairly successful career it was disbanded in 1922, at which time the creation of a broader and more truly democratic organization of all German Jews was expected.

THE CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION OF JEWISH RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN GERMANY

The Jewish "Community" (*Gemeinde*) in Germany is a religious community. People are united there not on the basis of race but on that of religion. The *Gemeinde* conceives of the Jews as a group, united for the furtherance of their common religious interest, though they cherish a variety of religious ideas.

There are, in general, three main religious groups among the Jews in Germany: the Liberals, the Conservatives, and the Orthodox. These three groups were organized in the course of the nineteenth century. Prior to that time all German Jews were orthodox, but, with the advent of emancipation, the need was felt for some sort of change in ritual that would modernize the synagogal services.

This work was first undertaken by Israel Jacobson, a prominent north-German layman, about 1810. He increased the decorum of the service and introduced instrumental music, a choir, and the sermon in the vernacular. A later generation of Liberals, led by Abraham Geiger (d. 1874) and others, made more radical changes, changes affecting the theology as well as the ritual. They denied the binding authority of biblical and rabbinical law except in matters of morals and posited the principle of progressive development in the Jewish religion. They emphasized the prophetic and universalistic, rather than the separatistic phase of Jewish life.

Zecharias Frankel, another eminent Jewish scholar of the middle nineteenth century, felt that the Liberals had gone too far. Without stating clearly his position on the important question of the binding authority of rabbinic law, he insisted on a close adherence to the traditional forms that had been sanctified by centuries of observance in the past.

Samson Raphael Hirsch, the third of the great German religious leaders of the last hundred years, was firmly convinced that both Geiger and Frankel had the wrong point of view. They were too much concerned, he believed, with adjusting Judaism to the new environment. The new environment, he insisted, must be made to conform with Judaism or else be rejected. He founded the modern school of German orthodoxy.

In reality these three groups do not differ so very much. They all believe in the value of a thorough secular education. Their respective leaders are all men of modern philosophic training. Despite the radicalism of the Liberals in theory, they, too, in actual practice, observe the dietary and Sabbath laws and use the standard orthodox Hebrew prayer book. There is, thus, a unity of observance among all German Jews. The Conservative Jews were in the majority in the south German republics; in the central and north German states the Liberals and Conservatives shared the power.

Those interested in making a comparison with the American Jewish groups might bear in mind that the Hirsch orthodoxy represents the extreme wing of orthodoxy, and the Conservatives, a moderate orthodoxy. The German Liberals are not to be likened to the American Reform Jews but to the more liberal wing of the Conservative group in the United Synagogue and in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Contrary to the prevalent opinion, there are practically no religionists of the American Reform type in Germany. There are but two Reform congregations in all Germany. In addition there are two Sephardic congregations, and, in the larger cities, a number of Hasidic religious societies for the recent East European orthodox immigrants.

The extremely orthodox Jews of the Samson Raphael Hirsch type did not wish to be affiliated with the Liberals and Conservatives. They felt no community of religious interest with any Jews who were not thoroughly orthodox and, as an act of self-preservation, they appealed to the state to permit them to secede from the community. Their appeal was granted and in 1876 they created their own Secessionist Community. Today there are four such communities, in Berlin, Frankfort, Wiesbaden, and Cologne.

This secession was a blow to the concept of unity upon which German Jews had laid so much emphasis. However, the actual number of orthodox secessionists was probably not more than three per cent of the total number of Jews in the country. The state itself was indifferent to internal Jewish dissension; it has never approved too heartily of intensive Jewish organization. The state later went even further in its legislation, liberalizing withdrawals from the Jewish community. Prior to the War a Jew could withdraw from the "Community" only by leaving Judaism, but after 1920 a Jew could withdraw from a Prussian *Gemeinde* without surrendering his Judaism and without being compelled to pay any church taxes. This act of 1920 was, from the point of view of the Jewish group, a disability imposed only on Jews, for, Christians withdrawing from the Protestant or Catholic religious fraternity were not exempt from church taxation unless they formally surrendered their religion.

The Secessionists have a series of communal institutions which parallel those of the main body. The four secessionist Gemeindes themselves are united into a national association of loyal orthodox Jewish communities which in turn parallels the national Working Commitee. The Secessionists are aligned in Jewish religious matters of international scope with the rigidly orthodox *Agudat Israel,* an international association of orthodox Jews. Slight as they may appear, the differences which exist between the three main bodies of German religionists have been responsible for the creation by each group of a whole series of religious societies catering only to its own adherents. Thus there are three rabbinical seminaries in Germany: the Liberal *Lehranstalt* or *Hochschule,* the Orthodox *Rabbiner Seminar,* both in Berlin, and the Conservative *Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar* in Breslau. Each of the three groups also has its own rabbinical conference and communicants' association. There are an interdenominational religious teachers' association and a cantors' society, but the orthodox have, in addition, a religious teachers' association of their own as well as a special society for orthodox university men.

JEWISH COMMUNAL POLITICS

Religious differences between the Liberals and Conservatives were the main theme of German Jewish communal politics all through the nineteenth century. The conservative groups maintained their primacy until about 1850 when the Liberals gained control of communal administration in northern Germany. In the period immediately before the War, and particularly after the War, there was a radical shift in communal politics. The problem now became not Liberalism versus Orthodoxy but Zionism versus anti-

Zionism; this "nationalistic" struggle was far more bitter than the religious conflict had ever been. In the Berlin Jewish community, which shelters a good one-third of all German Jewry and sets the tone for the other communities, the leading party has been the "Liberal" party. This powerful party is liberal in that it favors a religious development in consonance with the spirit of modernism. It is opposed in principle to the parochial schools and is an uncompromising opponent of Zionistic "separatism."

The "Conservative" party has declined sharply since the World War, and in Berlin it has by now disappeared. It emphasized loyalty to rabbinic law, pleaded for a Jewish parochial school system, and, like the Liberals, voiced its sharp disapproval of the Zionists. Thus these two extremes had at least their anti-Zionism in common.

The disappearance of the Conservative political party is no indication of weakness on the part of Orthodoxy. The orthodox Jews who were Zionists joined the Zionist party, and the others apparently turned to two neutral parties whose sole purpose seems to have been the maintenance of peace and unity in Jewish communal life in view of the growing power of the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

The organization that has most radically affected Berlin Jewish politics, and has also influenced other towns, is the Zionistic "Jewish People's Party." It wishes to change the basis of the community from a religious to racial one. It believes that it is the ethnic rather than the religious tie that holds Jews together; pride of race and respect for Jewish ethics rather than a common faith and a common God. In its insistence on the importance of the folk-character of the Jews the party does not in any way challenge the validity or importance of religious belief. The Zionists merely shift their emphasis, but it is nevertheless a fundamental change. The People's Party also favors a parochial school system through which Zionist ideology may be impressed on the younger generation. It stresses the close bond between all Jews in all lands and wishes to pledge the material resources of German Jewry to the material rebuilding of Palestine. It is very sympathetic to the needs and problems of the East European Jews in Germany.

The East European Jews have always been a problem in Germany through no fault of their own. Ever since the Cossack massacres of 1648, Polish and Russian Jews have drifted into Germany. As a matter of fact, it is very likely that there is not a German Jewish family today that is not, in part, of East European origin. The province of Posen was strongly Polish down to our own day. The German state has always objected to these immigrants because they were poor and uncouth. This prejudice is often shared by the German Jews themselves who use the term *Ostjude* (Eastern Jew) as one of reproach.

German anti-Semites have always been particularly vicious in attacking these East Europeans despite the fact that they have adjusted themselves easily to German cultural requirements and have aided materially in creating the wealth, science, and culture of present day Germany. It is very probable that the forces of reaction, in striking at the East Europeans, were primarily interested in hitting the older German Jewish settlers whose equality of opportunity they resented.

The Jewish community attempted at first to exclude these immigrants from the communal franchise. The Liberals, in power and jealous of their old traditions and anxious about their social standing, were afraid of allowing such a comparatively strong minority to exercise the vote. Probably a sixth or a seventh of the post-War Prussian *Gemeinde* electorate were East Europeans. A hard battle was fought until finally these immigrants were given the right to vote in practically every *Gemeinde* in Germany.

Most of these East European Jews vote the Zionist ticket. Many of them, proletarians and workers in the garment industry, are earnest Zionists and members of the Socialist-Zionist party which is affiliated with the general Zionist movement. Socialist-Zionists (they call themselves the *Poale Zion,* "Workers of Zion") stress, in the *Gemeinde,* democratic and socialistic principles of administration and the need of constructive social service work. Another group which is sympathetic to the Jewish People's Party and votes with it is the *Mizrahi* which comprises that section of the Zionists who are devoted to orthodoxy and are determined to rebuild Palestine in the spirit of the traditional faith and observance. Both the *Poale Zion* and the *Mizrahi* supported the People's Party in matters political.

Jewish politics in Germany narrowed itself down, as we have already seen, to a bitter struggle between anti-Zionists and Zionists. The anti-Zionists maintained that there could be no compromise; one was either a German nationalist or a Jewish nationalist; one could not be both. The Zionists' answer was to continue on their way, increasing their membership, fighting for a Jewish school system, helping the *Ostjuden,* working for the new Palestine, and preaching the solidarity of all Jews. They answered the implied charge of flagging loyalty to the state by surrendering their lives and fortunes in defense of Germany in the years 1914-1918.

The acrimony between the two groups was in some degree softened by the creation of the German section of the Jewish Agency which since 1929 and 1930 has functioned as a non-partisan committee for the upbuilding of the Holy Land. Notable Jews, like Oscar Wassermann of the *Deutsche Bank* and Rabbi Leo Baeck, who are not Zionists but are nevertheless members of this or similar committees, have worked to tone down mutual prejudices.

One cannot appreciate the cause of the bitterness of the anti-Zionist parties in Germany unless one realizes how constant and how cruel the anti-Jewish journalistic sniping has been there. The anti-Semites have always maintained that the Jews will never become loyal German citizens. The anti-Zionists assert that, by emphasizing Jewish nationality, the Zionists play right into their hands. The Zionists respond that the anti-Semites need no excuse for their attacks and would never be satisfied, even if every Jew were a super-patriot, with anything less than the complete exclusion of the Jews from German life.

JEWISH INSTITUTIONS OF A GERMAN-NATIONAL CHARACTER

The struggle against discrimination has influenced the development of practically every important Jewish institution and movement in Germany for the last fifty years. In order to cope directly with this problem, a group of eminent Gentiles created the Society for Combatting Anti-Semitism (1890). This society has for decades appealed to the conscience and intelligence of the more cultured Christians of Germany. It has always attempted to show, through its *Abwehr-Blätter* (Journal of Defense) and its special pamphlets, that race hatred is unworthy of a true Christian and a genuine German. This society dissolved itself in 1933. It is difficult to determine what measure of success it really enjoyed. It is obvious that it did not prevent the growth of the anti-Semitic movement, yet it is not improbable that its appeals to cultured Germans were not without some effect.

In 1893, three years after this Christian organization had begun its work, and a year after the great dignified German Conservative party had aligned itself with the "rowdy anti-Semites," the Jews organized the Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (*Central Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens*). This is the most influential Jewish society in Germany and includes within its membership many of the eminent liberal and orthodox Jews. This organization has a profound sympathy for things German; it strives for Jewish self-consciousness, social equality, and devotes itself to the defense of Jewish civil rights. As its title eloquently proclaims, it conceives of the Jews solely as a religious group and is uncompromisingly opposed to any form of Jewish nationalism.

In 1929, it had over 60,000 members organized into 555 societies. Its work has been largely of a literary character; its press

(Philo Press) has published besides its own paper, a great deal of apologetic and polemical literature. The organization has not only attempted to concentrate the energies of German Jewry on the reconstruction of the German state but has also worked consistently to enhance the feelings of dignity and pride, of confidence and loyalty among Jews themselves.

The archives and offices of the Central Union were raided by the Nazis in the summer of 1933 and various branches were dissolved, at least temporarily, but otherwise the organization has not been interfered with, although its paper, like all German newspapers, is subject to a close censorship.

Questioning the German patriotism of the Central Union, a group of Jews, led by the Bavarian war veteran Max Naumann, created the Society of National German Jews (1920). Politically the adherents of this society are German nationalists of a rather chauvinistic type; they are not interested in Jews beyond the German border and are definitely opposed to the East European migrants. They have even suggested that German Jewish Zionists be disenfranchised. Their organization is still very small, and in spite of their militant Germanism they are treated no better by the Hitlerites than any other Jewish group.

One of the largest organizations of a semi-political character in Germany is the National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers. There are about 40,000 fighters in this society which was created in 1919 to defend Jewish interests. These veterans discovered, after the War was over, that they were not welcome in the *Stahlhelm* and similar veterans' associations which have always stood politically under the dominance of the mildly anti-Semitic German Nationalists. This National Association has made it its business to patrol the streets in times of crisis and protect passing Jews from the nationalistic rowdies. It has collected valuable statistical material dealing with the Jewish soldier in the recent War and has also attempted to further the progress of sports and to encourage the return of the Jew to the soil.

ZIONISM IN GERMANY

That very opposition to Jews which brought to birth the Central Union also gave rise to the Zionist movement in Germany. There is this fundamental difference, however, between the two groups: the *Central Verein* and the Liberal Party, its ally in communal politics, believe that the battle with the anti-Semite must be fought out on German soil, whereas the Zionists believe that a Jewish homeland in Palestine is the only solution to the Jewish problem.

This Zionistic concept of Palestine as the future home of the Jewish people was advocated as early as 1862 by an outstanding German Jew, Moses Hess (1812-1875), who is equally distinguished as one of the founders of modern socialism and as the first theoretician of the Zionist movement. In the field of radical economic and social thought, Hess was a man of great influence. He was for years associated with Marx, Engels, Bakunin, Froebel, and Lassalle. As early as 1841 he pleaded for a United States of Europe, and he was always in the forefront of every movement designed to advance the social welfare of the proletarian masses.

Like most later philosophic essays on Zionist theory, his pioneer essay, *Rome and Jerusalem,* preaches the hopelessness of Jewish survival in the Diaspora. Hess was a *Galut* pessimist. Jewish nationality and Jewish national feeling, he believed, are of primary importance to the Jew and must, under no circumstance, be sacrificed or denied. Judaism was for him a messianic religion that was to weld together the cosmos and humanity and bring the prohpetic ideals to new birth in an ancient land. In the dawn of a new national liberalism that was to see the rise of an Italian Rome, he hoped, too, to witness the rebirth of a new Jerusalem. His Jewish work, unlike his socialistic and communistic writings, made little impression on his contemporaries. It remained for another man of Germanic culture to create the Zionist movement. This man was Theodor Herzl.

Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, was a Viennese journalist. He became convinced by the Dreyfus affair in France that the only hope for the European Jew was the creation of a Jewish national home as a refuge against anti-Semitism. Herzl created the World Zionist Organization in 1897; the same year a branch was established in Germany.

After Herzl's death (1904), the leadership of the movement was taken over by David Wolffsohn who looked upon himself as the executor of Herzl's policies. He was primarily a charter Zionist, anxious to create a political state in Palestine on the basis of a charter to be granted by the Turks. He was not particularly interested in any interim colonization. Other leaders of the movement, however, insisted on beginning the practical work of rebuilding Palestine even without the guarantee of a charter from the Turks.

These others, mostly East Europeans, also stressed the need of spiritual ideals, especially among the youth. A new emphasis was laid on national-cultural values; the Hebrew language was to be revivified; Jewish culture was to become as important as political independence itself.

During the period in which this synthetic Zionism of colonization and cultural work fought its way to victory over the Herzl-Wolffsohn group, who were solely interested in a charter and political independence, Germany and German Zionists were in the forefront of the movement. Germany before the War was the most powerful state on the continent and had great influence in the Ottoman Empire which then owned Palestine. One of the Zionist World Congresses met at Hamburg (1909), and for a brief period after 1911, Berlin was the seat of the movement. A number of the outstanding leaders at that time were Germans: Ruppin, Hantke, Bodenheimer, Otto Warburg, Martin Buber, and, of course, David Wolffsohn, who was president from 1905 to 1911 and remained an important figure in the organization until his death in 1914. Wolffsohn's importance derives from his successful efforts to hold the movement together after the death of Herzl, his cautious financial policies, and his work in calling a world congress of all groups (Brussels Conference, 1906), Zionist and non-Zionist, to cope with the problem of the stricken Jews in the Roumanian and Russian pogrom areas. He left his fortune to the Zionist organization which used it to help build the beautiful national library now on Mount Scopus.

During the War the German Zionists intervened with the Turks to spare the Jewish colonies. After the War, with the decline of Germany's political power, German Zionism ceased to play any great part in the world movement. The unusual spread of anti-Semitism in post-War Germany, however, stimulated the internal growth of the Zionist cause which, with its allied orthodox and socialist parties and their vigorous press, soon became one of the most significant movements in German Jewish life. Zionism in Germany has done a great deal to intensify interest in the Jewish question, to further the study of Hebrew, Jewish history, and art, to encourage sports and athletics among the younger generation and to stiffen the morale of a pilloried people.

JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE

The city of Berlin has a number of homes which were established by Jewish philanthropists, for sick and helpless children, for tuberculosis patients, and for apprentices and minors. Jews have made gifts for general philanthropic purposes in almost every important city in Germany where Jews are found. Social welfare work among the Jewish masses has not, however, been dependent upon the occasional gifts of the wealthy, but has been financed through the systematic support of the *Gemeinde* taxpayers.

German Jewry is not particularly large compared with other countries (in 1933 they numbered about 560,000 all told), yet they have a most extensive system of philanthropic organization.

Politically and religiously it has proven practically impossible for the Jews in Germany to unite, but they have succeeded admirably in doing so in their social service and welfare work. In some respects this is due to the influence of their environment, yet it is also true that some of the types of work done by the Jews are unique and have, in their turn, influenced general social service work in Germany.

There are various reasons why in Germany, as in most other countries, specifically Jewish social service organizations have been created to care for Jews. While it might be argued rightfully that it is the duty of the state to provide this type of service for all of its citizens, the Jews present certain special problems which cannot (or will not) be handled by the general organizations. In unemployment, for example, it is necessary to contend with the factor of anti-Semitic prejudice which complicates the social service approach. Orthodox Jews, in addition, are loath to accept employment requiring the violation of the Sabbath. In the care of the sick and indigent, the orthodox group presents the problem of the dietary laws. Even the burial of the poor presents different problems among Jews than among the general population.

Add to these complications the fact that Jews differ so widely in ideology, not only from the general population but also among themselves, and also the fact that the drives supplied by these various ideas and ideals are so potent among Jews—and we see why literally hundreds of Jewish social service institutions have sprung up in all lands where Jews live.

In many of the types of organization that border on both the religious or the educational and the social, the constituencies have been loath to entrust even purely social service functions to groups not in sympathy with their ideals. Thus, we find institutions all doing the same type of social service work, maintained separately, nevertheless, by the Liberals, by the Community Orthodox, by the Secessionist Orthodox, by Zionists, by anti-Zionists, etc. To argue that the state ought to provide for all these shades of difference seems somewhat unreasonable; to expect that it ever will is fantastic.

The problem of philanthropy has also been complicated by other factors. German Jewry is on the march from the towns and villages to the large cities. This inner migration has gone on all through the last century. It became an active movement in the 'seventies with the emancipation of the Jews and the growth of commerce and industry in the towns. It became intensified in the post-War period with the growth of anti-Semitism among the gullible peasants and the stubborn-minded town-folk. A people in the course of economic transformation and vocational shifting requires much time, attention, and care on the part of social agencies.

But even before the War German Jewry was faced with a second great task, that of helping the East European Jews. With the outbreak of the pogroms in Russia in the 'eighties, there began a flight of thousands of Jews from that country. Most of them passed through Germany; some remained. These men, women, and children had to be looked after. Later, during the World War, the German government imported, either by invitation or by force, about 20,000 Russian and Polish Jews to work in the mines and munition factories. After the War many, if not most, of these laborers returned home. Special provision had to be made for the latter, while special employment and social agencies had to be established for those who stayed.

There were literally hundreds of Jewish social service units in Germany before 1933, having a budget, all told, of millions of marks. There are also a large number of men's and women's organizations that devote themselves to general philanthropic work. Many specialize in the care of normal and delinquent youth; others devote themselves to health, nursing, and convalescent work.

Economic problems have, of course, brought into being a wide variety of societies. There are a number of loan funds and people's banks for the aid of the poor, the craftsman, and the petty-artisan. Legal advice is provided free to the poor by legal aid societies. Many organizations provide food for the needy; some limit themselves to the wants of students. There is a very extensive system of employment agencies and institutions for vocational training. There are organizations that concern themselves specifically with the protection and guidance of foreigners and immigrants, others that seek to settle farmers on the soil, and still others aiming to train Jewish craftsmen and to provide them with tools. Smaller national associations concern themselves with specific problems like establishing kosher restaurants for the ritually observant or uniting and furthering the welfare of German Jewish craftsmen. There are also special schools which prepare men and women for social work, for nursing, for household training, and for gardening.

Institutional care in Germany may be summed up in four categories: institutions of economic help, hospitals and convalescent homes, homes for youth, and, finally, homes for children. Homes for the aged and places where the poor may work come under the first category. The second group includes hospitals for the sick, for the aged, for chronic invalids, for the tuberculous, and for the blind, the deaf, the dumb, and the insane as well as special nursing homes for children and adults. The third group includes apprentices' homes, institutions for orphans, for young mothers, and for the mentally retarded. In the fourth group are the kindergartens, day-nurseries, and club-rooms.

The many societies, organizations, and institutions in Germany suffered a severe set back right after the War. Jewish business men were harder hit than the others. The inflation not only wiped out the wealth of the rich contributor class but at the same time made the endowment funds of many institutions absolutely valueless. The community was now called upon to bear the burden of support for all these ambitious enterprises at a time when it had, in many towns, lost at least 50 per cent of its total income.

New laws were passed in Prussia making it possible for Jews to resign from the community and thus free themselves from the obligation of supporting Jewish charities. The burdens of the harassed *Gemeindes* were further increased by the need of supporting War victims, ruined middle-class families, and refugees from the pogrom-stricken lands of Eastern Europe. Some help was secured in this post-War crisis from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committtee, but its funds, too, were limited and were needed even more badly in Russia, Roumania, and Poland.

One obvious method of meeting the increased need with a decreasing income was more efficient organization, centralization, and cooperation. This was accomplished as early as 1917 by the creation of a Central Welfare Office of the German Jews. This Office coordinated the work of practically every Jewish welfare association in the land. There remained a number of large and small societies that maintained their independence, but most of them are not primarily welfare organizations. Among these autonomous units are the large fraternal societies such as the B'nai B'rith, with over a hundred affiliated lodges, the Sisterhood of the B'nai B'rith (*Schwesternverband der U.O.B.B.-Logen*), with seventy-nine units, and the Jewish Women's League (*Judischer Frauenbund*), with about 50,000 members in 430 clubs. These three major groups, of course, perform a great deal of social service, but much of it is done in conjunction with the Central Welfare Office.

This Office, which occupies the center of the stage, is really unique in the history of Jewish philanthropy. New York Jewry has a larger budget for its philanthropies and has many more clients than all of the German institutions put together, but its Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies operates only within the compass of a single city; Germany, however, is one of the large states of Europe. During the War and right after it, this German federation concerned itself with organization problems, the development of a proper technique of work, the distribution of funds, soldier welfare, and the supervision of the youth movement. Now, in addition to these activities it gives professional advice, arranges for fund campaigns, speaks for Jewish philanthropy in the Christian world, and cooperates with the most important non-Jewish social agencies. Its prime work is the coordination of all social service work of the institutions embraced by it or allied with it.

The Central Welfare Office has under it seven state offices, twelve provincial bureaus, and eighty-nine other offices in as many important German cities. It controls, directly, practically all of the Jewish immigration and employment agencies in Germany and supports about thirty-five welfare institutions in Berlin and about sixty-four hospitals and similar institutions throughout the country. It has a "working agreement" with the various loan associations and with the united association that deals with juvenile problems, adult delinquents, and the unemployed. The Office is also closely allied with the united tuberculosis associations, convalescent societies, student-help groups, and the National Commission of Jewish Youth Societies.

It publishes a number of periodicals and larger works. Among its publications are Jacob Lestschinsky's *The Economic Fate of German Jewry* and the *Guide Through Jewish Communal Administration and Welfare Work in Germany, 1932-1933*. Both of these books have been of great help to students of current Jewish life. At least two hundred thousand Jews are members of the various groups coordinated by this Office.

The growing economic distress brought about the creation of another super-organization. This was the Societies Dealing with the Economic Problems of the Jews in Germany. It embraced every large and important group in Germany, including the Central Welfare Office; all of these groups united for the study and solution of the specifically Jewish economic problems and to wage war on the growing boycott (1931).

During and after the World War, when world Jewry felt the need of helping the impoverished and crushed masses in Russia, Roumania, and Poland, quite a number of relief and reconstruction organizations were created. Four of these organizations had their general offices or important bureaus in Berlin. Two of these groups were the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which is concerned with the problem of helping war-stricken Jewry, and its affiliate, the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation, which stresses agriculture, cooperatives, home-industry, and small workshops as the chief means for the economic rehabilitation of Jews in the areas of the Eastern war zone.

The other two organizations, the ORT and the OZE, like the American organizations, busied themselves primarily with the Jews of the East European lands. Both are really international in their scope. The ORT (Society for the Furtherance of the Crafts and Agriculture among the Jews) wishes to effect a vocational shift of petty Jewish businessmen from trade to the crafts and to agriculture. The work of the OZE (Society for the Protection of the Health of Jews) is indicated by its name. The World Sabbath Observance League, *Shomre Shabbos,* which, as its name indicates, is an orthodox association concerned with the maintenance of the Sabbath as a day of rest, also had its central office in Germany. It moved to Amsterdam after the coming of Hitler.

All these organizations have their offices in Germany merely as a matter of convenience. Germany, situated between the East European Orthodox on one side and the West European Liberals on the other side, has always been strategically located for international religious work and social welfare activity.

The *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden,* founded in 1901, is, however, a specifically German institution with goals in the field of international Jewish activities. In the pre-War period it was especially devoted to the task of furthering the German language and cultural ideals among the Jews of Palestine. In its cultural propaganda it was paralleled by the activity of the *Alliance*

Israélite Universelle which encouraged French in Palestine, North Africa, and the Near East. The rivalry between the two world powers, France and Germany, was reflected in a mild rivalry between these two Jewish organizations.

The *Hilfsverein* has also interested itself in the masses of East European Jewry who have suffered so much and have needed so much care. In the Slavonic lands, it has created elementary schools, supported Talmudic academies, provided medical care for children, and sheltered War and pogrom orphans. Its major task, no doubt, has been its immigration work. Ever since 1904 it has been the chief agent aiding Russian refugees as they passed through the country. For years the *Hilfsverein* has maintained offices at Hamburg, Bremen, and other important German centers of emigration. Dr. James Simon, the philanthropist, was president of the *Hilfsverein* from 1901 on.

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There are few institutions in any community more vital than the schools. The Jewish parochial and religious schools play no unimportant part in the inner life of German Jewry. The formal education undertaken by these schools is complemented in a very vigorous fashion by the informal but none the less effective Youth Movement. What this movement is will be described in some detail in the following chapter on the educational institutions of German Jewry.

CHAPTER XVII

YOUTH AND SCHOOLS IN GERMAN JEWRY

JEWISH SECULAR SCHOOLS IN GERMANY

THE Zionists of Germany, as in other lands, have been a very stimulating force in the field of education. They have encouraged the study of Hebrew in special kindergartens and other schools and have thus helped introduce the post-War generation to a more intimate knowledge of the sources of Judaism. The kindergartens and elementary schools of the Zionists, however, constitute but a small fraction of the Jewish schools. Jewish children in Germany secure their general education, for the most part, in the public school system.

Of an estimated total of 58,000 Jewish school children, 45,400 go to the secular schools. The remainder, about 12,600 children, attend Jewish parochial schools. Of this 12,600, a little less than 8,000 are in elementary schools while about 4,700 attend intermediate and high schools. All told, there were about 140 towns and villages (1932) which had Jewish elementary schools. The curriculum in these schools is much the same as that of the general schools with the addition of a few hours of Jewish religious instruction.

There are also special Jewish schools for deaf-mutes, for the blind, and for the mentally-retarded. There is a social service school in Berlin and an agricultural school in Ahlem, Hannover. There are a series of Zionist training farms, and a number of nurses' schools, cooking schools, and domestic-science schools throughout the land.

It should not be considered strange that the Jews have secular public schools of their own. In the late eighteenth century when the Jews of Germany began to abandon the old unpedagogic and undisciplined Hebrew school and insisted upon giving their children a modern schooling, they did not care to send them to the Christian schools. On the one hand, the children would not have been welcome there, and on the other, Christian religious instruction was compulsory for all children in these schools. This forced the Jews to create modernized schools of their own. Thus the parochial school prevailed in Germany only until about 1850, when the growing spirit of liberalism and the wishes of the state induced the parents to send their young to the improved public school system.

Unfortunately, the assimilatory influence of modern culture began in the course of time to worry some of the parents. They feared that the influence of public school instruction would break down the Jewish sympathies and interests of their children. The more orthodox Jews, such as Samson Raphael Hirsch, insisted for this reason on maintaining the parochial schools. With the growth of anti-Semitism many Jews were further impelled to flee from the general school system. In Berlin, for instance, there are different parochial schools established by the Secession Orthodox group, by the community Orthodox, by the Zionists, and by the community itself. Of the 15,675 Jewish children in the Berlin schools in November, 1929, two thousand three hundred and four attended Jewish parochial schools.

JEWISH RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS IN GERMANY

The flight to the Jewish school was not motivated merely by the negative force of anti-Semitism or the romantic-nationalism of Zionism. It was furthered by the positive desire on the part of many Jews to give their children a sound religious education. A majority of the Jews, however, did not feel it necessary to withdraw their young from the general school system in order to give them religious instruction in a Jewish school. They believed that the other prevalent methods and means of imparting religious instruction were adequate for this purpose, particularly the religious school.

The most popular form of religious school is that which the pupils attend after public school hours. In Berlin alone there were, in 1932, forty-seven such schools and branches, in which 3,700 children were taught; twenty schools were in the suburbs. Some of these schools were Orthodox; some were Liberal; but the majority catered to no specific group.

Those children who did not receive instruction in Judaism in the Jewish parochial schools or in the forty-seven religious schools supported by the community, could secure such instruction at home, in private schools, or in the public schools themselves. The Jewish Community sent teachers to ninety of the public schools to train such students in the elements of Judaism. Religious training, however, is not compulsory. In the larger communities the various Jewish schools are usually supervised by a special school commission.

Those who wish to continue their religious and Jewish education may attend the various Talmud Torahs or *Yeshibot* (Talmudic Academies) in the larger cities, or they may enter a teachers' seminary or one of the three large rabbinical colleges.

There are a variety of institutions furthering studies of specific Jewish interest. There is also a series of educational institutions that seek to popularize the works of Jewish scholars. Most of the larger towns have extension universities where popular lectures and courses are given on history, religion, philosophy, art, and Hebrew. There are a number of societies for the study of Jewish history and literature; the Berlin *Gemeinde* has a special school for instruction in the Hebrew language and literature. Every important city has its Jewish library and reading room. The Jewish press appealing chiefly to the religious and Zionist groups is widely established, publishing about one hundred Jewish newspapers and communal and club bulletins. The Liberals, the Orthodox, and the Zionists have their own periodicals; a branch of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency supplies them all with German and international news of Jewish interest.

THE JEWISH YOUTH MOVEMENT

The present government of Germany is a government of youth. Back of the National Socialists stand millions of growing youths, boys and girls in their teens, who believe that the National Socialist revolution incorporates the finest and truest ideals of a glorious Germanic past. The commandeering of youth into its service was a brilliant stroke on the part of the National Socialists. It is unfortunate for the future of the German Jew and the permanence of Western liberal hopes that this movement of youth, enthusiasm, and sacrifice has become anti-Semitic and politically reactionary.

A full generation ago German youth began to "wander." The literary and cultural spirit of the last thirty years has encouraged the quest for life, nature, and the outdoors. In an age that was still naturalistic (although it had already turned to lyrical and historical neo-romanticism and was yet to see the rise of a newer expressionism of the inmost soul), the German youth, clad in simple garments, roamed the hills and valleys of beautiful Germany singing their *Lieder* of love and sadness. They gathered in the towns to talk of the problems of home, education, and country. They pondered, as youth will, over the goals of a society into which they were to fit. Some were determined to regenerate society; others wanted merely to remain young, to retain the memories of a happy, carefree youth as long as possible.

Their movement was a protest against things as they are. They looked critically at their homes and their schools; they yearned for naturalness, unostentation, and flight from the spirit of acquisitiveness. Many of them had visions of improving the lot of their fellowmen through constructive social welfare service. It was inevitable that many of the younger groups would sooner or later fit into a social, political, and economic niche of their own. The environmental factors were too strong to permit of neutrality, or of independence. Many began as social rebels and ended by becoming pillars of society; the growing generation was pushed out of the youth clubs by the younger rebels who, in turn, went through the same process of being socialized.

The purely pedagogic influence of this movement on youth was important. Home and school frequently failed to bring out the best in youth in the trying days of emergence into manhood or womanhood. This educational defect was often remedied by the steadying influence of these groups, which stimulated a social consciousness and encouraged not merely group living but also social thinking and cultural values. The poetry of youth found its expression in respect and affection for the group leader.

This important psychological and social development of young Germany naturally influenced the impressionable Jewish youth which has always been so intimately a part of German life. The general youth movement began about 1900; a decade later it was in full swing among the Jews. What induced the Jews to form their own organizations? It is not at all improbable that here, as everywhere else, a reserved and cold attitude to the Jewish aspirant drove him out of the general fold. Even young Jews of strong German nationalistic sympathies were forced to unite into special groups. This is ample evidence that even these intense German patriots were not wanted. Young Jews soon found that they were unmistakably confronted by special problems because they were Jews. They wanted to think of these problems and to talk of them. Even if they originally came together to sing the *Lorelei,* they remained to talk of unemployment and anti-Semitism. The problem of the "values" of Judaism has always intrigued the rising generation. As George Lubinski, one of the leaders of German youth, points out, the Jewish groups have but one thing in common—their Judaism; yet it is the interpretation of this very Judaism that also keeps them apart.

There are a variety of organizations: in some the striplings merely hike and sing; in others the typical manifestations of youthful play are ignored and study is the goal. All in all there were between thirty and forty thousand young Jews from six to twenty-five years of age banded together in these youth organizations (1932). There were a few Jews in non-Jewish organizations, and there were many altogether unorganized. Some are not interested in group work; as individualistic intellectuals they dread the leveling power of the group. Others, not "romantic" by nature, think the whole movement silly. Many want to plunge into life, to grow up in a hurry; they have no desire to stay young. For many the movement has been a spiritual salvation; it has left others untouched. The value of the work depends not so much on the work itself as on the individual and his temperament.

The German Jewish Youth Movement is a little world in itself reflecting all the tendencies, currents, and cross-currents of contemporary German and Jewish life.* Variety is the rule. The Zionist groups are numerous and divided; some are militant Jewish nationalists, others defend the orthodox religious position; some are socialists in addition to being Zionists, others are merely Zionistic Jewish youths interested in Jewish studies and in the new Homeland. Much of the training of the various Zionist units was taken over by the German Territorial Association of Pioneers (*Hehaluz*) which has a number of training farms and shops for those preparing themselves for a life of labor on Palestinian soil.

The Zionists by no means constitute the majority of organized youth. There are clubs religiously liberal, and clubs religiously orthodox. In this welter of earnest youth the socialists were by no means inconsequential. Many societies were comprised of lads whose only desire was to roam and to sing and to forget the fears of tomorrow. Others, aware of the growing power of National Socialism, were organized primarily to combat it. They call upon the new generation to face their problems courageously, as Jews conscious of the dignity of their ancient heritage. The neutral associations, those who refused to align themselves with any specific political, religious or cultural position in German or Jewish life were by far the largest in number. Yet all, whether nationalists, socialists, Zionists, Liberals, or Orthodox, had certain definite aims in common: the building of sound character, the furthering of German culture, and the intensification of Jewish ideals.

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*The different German Jewish youth organizations of the period of the Republic (1918-1933) are described in detail in Appendix IV.

Unquestionably the Youth Movement in Germany is the most hopeful sign of the vigor of Jewry there. It has made its influence felt everywhere, particularly in the field of religious education. Religious training has come to mean more than formal ethics and dogma; it now insists on the integration of religion with all phases of Jewish life. The Jewish youth is now motivated by a growing sense of community with all Jews and a desire to share their lot.

Despite the fact that the Zionists apparently have as their goal preparation for constructive and productive life in Palestine, they really have a much broader program and have exerted a most profound influence on the younger generation. They have stressed community of feeling between Jews and the need of understanding Jews in terms of their life and literature. They have given a real impetus to the study of Hebrew, which to them is important both as a cultural bond and as a key to the treasures of the past. They have furthered the acquisition of sound Jewish knowledge, for Jewish life and culture are vital to them. The close tie which they feel with nature, a characteristic taken over from the general German youth movement, they express in their love of the old Homeland. They are particularly enamored of the concepts of the "cooperative" (the *Kebuzah*) and approve of it because of the social and fraternal ties which it fosters. It is largely due to the Zionists that the study of Hebrew and Jewish lore has come to assume an increasingly important place in the program of many clubs, even among those who are opposed to Jewish nationalism.

The growth and magnitude of the new youth renaissance has so impressed the Berlin *Gemeinde* that it has established a commission for youth work and has put a special building at the disposal of the clubs. This youth commission set aside means for those too poor to undertake a "hiking" excursion and attempted to recruit the unorganized for the various societies. It was also considering plans for the building of gymnasiums and swimming pools when the catastrophe came.

The crowning achievement of the youth societies was their federation, in 1924, into a National Commission of Jewish Youth Societies. This federation was organized in a loose structure that it might carry on its work more effectively. Because of their particular interest in social service, the youth societies work in close harmony with the Central Welfare Office, the federation of German social agencies. As a matter of fact they occupy the same offices. The National Commission wishes to develop group leaders, playground assistants, and competent helpers in kindergartens, children's homes, and orphan asylums. It is very active in combatting juvenile delinquency. The Commission seeks to support a convalescent home for needy youth, to raise money for the purposes the various clubs have in common, and to exchange views on their common problems. The general trend of the federation seems to be toward a more effective enlisting of the youth in constructive and preventive social work. To carry on its labors more expeditiously it has established branch offices in several of the large cities.

THE FRATERNITIES

The Jewish "fraternities" at the universities are not part of the youth movement although the two have much in common. It is immaterial whether the Jewish youth gather together to hike and to sing or to study and to duel; they end up by discussing the Jewish Problem. It was the anti-Semitism of the 'eighties that created the first Jewish fraternity in Breslau, in 1886. In the middle 'nineties, due to the growth of Jewish discrimination and its corollary, Jewish self-consciousness, two major associations of

Jewish students sprang up in the German universities: the Association of Jewish Fraternities (*Kartell jüdischer Verbindungen*) and the Association of the Fraternities of the German Students of the Jewish Faith (*Kartell-Convent der Verbindungen deutscher Studenten jüdischen Glaubens*).

The Association of Jewish Fraternities is primarily a Zionist organization devoted to the national rebirth of the Jewish people and the rebuilding of Palestine. The present association, reorganized in 1914, is an amalgamation of already existing clubs that were Zionistic or strongly Jewish in their sympathies. In the pre-War period they were modelled closely after the Gentile fraternities (*Verbindungen*) with all their mummery and dueling. Dueling, in which many Jews became proficient, served effectively to lessen the insults to which Jewish academicians had been so freely exposed. In the post-War period the organizations have thrown off much of their student trappings and have emphasized the importance of agricultural training for life in Palestine. They had about 1,800 members and seventeen constituent clubs (1932).

The Association of Fraternities of the German Students of the Jewish Faith is, as the name implies, very "German" in its affiliations. It is not, as a society, interested in the solution of the *Jewish* problem as such; it is interested largely in maintaining the political and social status of the *German* Jew. In its organizational form it, too, is closely modelled after the pattern of the Gentile fraternities. In the post-War period it has gone in for sports. Besides its numerous graduate chapters, it had fifteen active societies and a total of about 2,000 members (1932). Politically and religiously the Association is neutral.

The particular needs of the orthodox students have been met by the Union of Jewish Academicians (*Bund jüdischer Akademiker),* 1906 which has branches at thirteen universities. Its nine hundred members are interested in encouraging Jewish studies and in attempting to adjust their own orthodoxy to a modern rational, critical, and scientific world. The Association of Jewish

Student Clubs of Germany devotes its attention to the support of needy Jewish students, especially foreigners.

* * *

The Jews of Germany, we have seen, had their own communal institutions, their own schools, their own philanthropies. Here in the midst of an enlightened Germany lay the materials out of which the Jew might fashion, if he could, a new eclectic culture that would bear the impress of both contemporary Germanism and Jewish modernism. How far did this first of modernized Jewries go toward creating a specific Jewish culture?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PROBLEM OF A SPECIFIC JEWISH CULTURE

A SPECIFIC JEWISH CULTURE?

THE German Jew of the last few generations had a unique opportunity to create a new Jewish culture. On the one hand, he was nourished by the roots of Hebraic learning and was quite steadfast in his orthodoxy. On the other, the emancipation had given to him, or certainly to the intellectual leaders in his midst, mastery of the Western educational disciplines as well as complete command of the content of Western culture.

The elements of a precious amalgam, therefore, were present but the amalgamation failed to take place. Whatever fusion did occur—there was some—was not of an epoch-making character. At other times in Jewish history when such a situation existed, it frequently culminated in a definite interaction of the Jewish with the surrounding culture to produce something new, something distinctive in Jewish life and thought. Thus, we have the Judaeo-Hellenistic literature and philosophy growing out of the contact between ancient Greece and ancient Judea: the Hispano-Jewish culture of the early centuries of our millennium, an outgrowth of the union of Moorish cultural influence with the vivid Judaism of the time; and various other instances of similar nature which need not be detailed here.

In the case of Germany, no distinctive Germano-Jewish culture is yet in evidence. To be sure, the German Jews have their folk-ways, their religious observances, their intellectual preferences, and peculiarities, etc., but the new pathways which they might have been expected to blaze toward the harmonization of Judaism with the contemporary economic, social, and political philosophies of the German scene, are still uncharted. The literature, art, music, and science of the German Jew is purely Germanic, untinged and uninfluenced to any great extent by his Judaism. His *Weltanschauung* stems primarily from the ideas and ideals expressed by the German philosophers. The roots that tap Jewish cultural soil are not always obvious.

It is true that, under the influence of modern Jewish nationalism, there has been an attempt to achieve this elusive goal in the fields of music, art, and literature. There has been a continuous flow of novels dealing with Jewish themes, such as the spiritual emancipation of the ghetto Jew and the dejudaization of the emancipated Jew. The tonal and pictorial arts have also begun to attempt to deal with Jewish content in the modern spirit. But the century and more since the emancipation has, as yet, yielded but meager fruits of this particular type of synthesis. Many of the recent attempts in this direction are excellent literature or art or music. Nevertheless, most of them fail to achieve that harmony of the Jewish with the Germanic which might represent a distinct and notable contribution to the cultural stream of Judaism.

Neither can the Science of Judaism, which we are about to describe, be regarded as such a contribution. Its concern is largely with the Jewish past, a clearer knowledge of which it sought to achieve by the use of modern methods and techniques of scholarship. That it succeeded magnificently in furthering its chosen objective is undeniable; it is equally undeniable, however, that it contributed relatively little in the field of cultural endeavor which we are here discussing.

Why did the German Jew fail where others before him in similar circumstances have succeeded? The answer cannot be found in any assumption of intellectual inferiority on the part of the German Jew; his tremendous contributions to strictly Germanic culture, which we have already detailed, attest his intellectual capacity. The real reasons were threefold.

First, the *Gemeinde,* the voice of the German Jewish community, looked askance at every attempt to introduce any new philosophical or cultural departure. In the face of a growing anti-

Semitism it felt obliged to fight for communal unity at the expense of discountenancing all cultural activity which might have a divisive effect. It frowned upon polemics of any type and strove to keep both the Liberals and the Orthodox rigidly within bounds. To have either group secede on ideological grounds would have been disastrous. Hence a truce was maintained which, while it preserved peace, yet stifled advance.

Secondly, the opposition to creative thinking offered by the *Gemeinde* was complemented by the materialistic philosophies current in Germany in the middle nineteenth century. Their tendency was away from, rather than toward, a consideration of religio-cultural problems; and the Jew, always eager to be modern, reflected this tendency.

A third factor was anti-Semitism. This was probably the strongest of all three factors. But it operated somewhat differently than in the earlier past. In the Middle Ages the Jew was not in touch with the secular culture of his neighbors. When attacked, he tended to retreat to his own spiritual strongholds, keeping alive the spark of Jewish tradition and ideals in the face of all the forces aiming to snuff it out. In modern Germany, however, the Jew was thoroughly versed in the culture of his neighbors. In fact, in his zeal for intellectual emancipation he had eagerly embraced this culture and made it part and parcel of his life. When he, in turn, was attacked by the vigorous anti-Semitic minority in Germany, his tendency was to cling, not to his Judaism which he had all too often already left behind him, but to his newly gotten and dearly gained Germanism. In his complete and honest devotion to German Christian cultural patterns, he fancied that he had attained sanctuary. Besides, to cultivate Jewish values would have made him conspicuous to the anti-Semites; anonymity, he felt, was synonymous with safety in his case.

Yet, in spite of this flight from the cultivation of Judaism and in spite of the refusal of the German Jewish intellectual to face and solve the philosophic problems created by the contract of the two cultures to which he became heir, it was inevitable that some degree of synthesis should take place (We have in mind the religio-philosophic writings of Samson Raphael Hirsch, Hermann Cohen, Martin Buber, and Leo Baeck, the president of the National Committee of German Jews.) The German Jew was thus the first to emerge a "modern." If he did not succeed in producing a remarkable blending of Hebraism and Westernism, he did achieve something else which was to make him unique among the Jewries of the world. German Jewry modernized its religious practices, introduced decorum into its worship, evolved great communal, educational, social, and philanthropic institutions which served as models to Jewry everywhere, applied the scientific method to Jewish studies and emerged in a position of undisputed academic leadership in world Jewry—all the more remarkable because it never, during this entire period, constituted more than 5 per cent of the Jewish population of the world.

The Science of Judaism in Germany

A DEFINITION OF THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

Today any one interested may acquire fairly exact knowledge of almost any phase of Jewish life and thought by merely consulting an authoritative reference book. A century ago neither these books nor much of the information which they contain were available. The thing that has brought about this change is the "Science of Judaism," which was initiated by Leopold Zunz who was born in Detmold, in 1794 and died in Berlin, in 1886. In its broadest sense this science may be defined as the quest for an exact and substantiated knowledge of Judaism and of the relations of the Jew with all peoples and cultures with which he has come in contact.

JEWISH LEARNING BEFORE 1800

For centuries before Zunz began to publish his works (1818), there had been no accurate, scientific study of Jewish history. There were, to be sure, isolated individuals in Italy, Holland, and

Lithuania who approached Jewish studies in a more or less scientific fashion, but they were rare and, though often quite important, they exercised relatively little influence upon other Jewish scholars. The fear that the study of science and philosophy would make men irreligious troubled most religious leaders and prevented all but the most daring from pursuing those studies. Asher ben Jehiel, for example, a German scholar who fled to Spain about 1300, thanked God that he did not know the secular sciences, and even the more liberal Solomon ibn Adret of Barcelona, in 1305, proscribed the study of certain sciences unless the student had reached the age of twenty-five and had already fortified himself with Jewish learning.

LEOPOLD ZUNZ

Shortly before the dawn of the emancipation (about 1750), the average German Jew not only knew little of the world of culture about him but even lacked all desire to make its acquaintance. The rabbinic literature satisfied all his needs.

Within a generation of the emancipation, however, a number of north German Jews who had themselves already acquired a general education, realized the woeful inadequacy of their brethren in Western culture and devoted themselves to the task of attempting to remedy this defect. Men like Mendelssohn believed their coreligionists could modernize themselves most rapidly and completely by learning the language of the land in which they lived, thus gaining entrée into new cultural spheres. They wanted to bring the Jew out of his educational ghetto and put him into close touch with the peoples about him.

Some wanted to affect this change by an abrupt break with tradition accompanied by rapid assimilation of the new culture. Others, loath to break in this fashion, demanded the creation of a new Judaism and a new Jewish culture through the study and revaluation of the finest elements in the Jewish past. Leopold Zunz belonged to this latter school.

He knew that there were glorious periods in the life of his people which were buried in the dust of the ages. He determined to uncover these buried spiritual treasures and show the Christian world that the Jew, too, had a history worthy of respect. This added respect for the Jew would lead, he felt, to the disappearance of antipathies and the abolition of anti-Jewish legislation in Germany. Through this new discipline he hoped, also, that the Jew would ultimately be enabled to make definite contributions to human knowledge. The effect of these studies upon the Jew would be the heightening of his loyalties, the birth of a new sense of pride, and a disdain of flight through conversion.

That which most distinctly characterized Zunz in this work was his scientific method. He wanted to know *exactly* what had happened; he wanted to know *accurately* the relation of the Jew to the world about him in the ages gone by. And in order that even the non-Jew might read what had been unearthed, he asked that the new learning be expounded in the vernacular, German.

Zunz began his work in 1818 at the age of twenty-four. In his first essay, *Something About Rabbinical Literature,* he attempted to show that Judaism was worthy of a place in the history of literature. The following year, 1819, was a sorry one in Central Europe. The growing reaction following the downfall of Napoleon and the decline of French liberalism brought hatred, discrimination, and attack upon the Jews. In this discomforting period Zunz organized the Society for the Culture and Science of Judaism. He hoped to create a cultural movement that would appeal to intelligent men and women, fit them for the new environment in which they found themselves, and rehabilitate them, in their own eyes at least.

Heinrich Heine, Eduard Gans, Israel Jacobson, and other important men supported him. In 1822, he began to publish the *Magazine for the Science of Judaism*. The Society failed and both Heine and Gans deserted the faith, but Zunz, with the aid of his loyal wife, carried on the work and published a series of epoch-making studies on rabbinic literature, on poetry, on the liturgy, and on Jewish history. His writings not only amassed tremendous amounts of new information but also charted the method and technique of research in this new field.

THE PIONEERS OF THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

Zunz's influence spread. In Eastern Europe, Krochmal, an older contemporary, blazed the way in the philosophy of Jewish history. Rapoport began to unearth biographical material in the medieval rabbinic sources. Luzzatto, in Italy, exploited the manuscripts and the early Hebrew prints and initiated a revival of the study of the Hebrew language. By the middle of the nineteenth century there were already an appreciable number of scholars rapidly laying the foundations upon which our present knowledge of the Jewish past rests.

Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907) became the greatest of the Jewish bibliographers. His catalogue of the Hebrew books in the Bodleian Library at Oxford is a mine of information for scholars. He wrote the first history of Jewish literature and then published a series of valuable monographs illuminating the position of the Jew in medieval civilization. He showed how much the Jew owed to his environment, and also how much it owed to him. This work in *Kulturgeschichte* was carried on in a more popular and appealing vein by Moritz Güdemann, a Viennese rabbi, who wrote a series of works on the life and education of the medieval European Jew.

THE MIGRATION OF GERMAN JEWISH SCHOLARS

The tenacity of the German political reaction compelled many Jews who were too loyal and self-respecting to become converts to leave their native land and carry their scholarship abroad. Solomon Munk went to Paris and there published his studies setting forth the influence of the Spanish Jewish philosophers on the medieval mind. Others who left Germany for France were Joseph

Derenbourg (d. 1895), a scholarly worker in the field of Jewish-Arabic literature, and Jules Oppert (d. 1905) who was an Orientalist and Semitic scholar of note. Both Emanuel Deutsch (d. 1873) and Joseph Zedner (d. 1871) went to the British Museum in London. Deutsch's literary articles and Zedner's bibliographical work did much to further the cause of Jewish studies among the English speaking peoples.

THE HISTORIANS

So much progress had been made in the study of Jewish history and literature in the thirty odd years since Zunz began his work that in 1853 Heinrich Graetz (d. 1891) could begin to publish his classic *History of the Jews,* which, in the original German, comprises eleven volumes. This monumental work has since been translated into several languages including English, Yiddish, and Hebrew. It is the first scholarly history of the Jews, yet it makes delightful reading. It is unmistakably the work of an intense, devoted Jew.

Since Graetz's day one other attempt has been made to write a comprehensive account of the Jew. This is the ten volume *World History of the Jewish People* written by Simon Dubnow. In this more modern treatment, Dubnow (b. 1860) views the Jew largely from the aspect of nationalism. The last three volumes, dealing with modern Jewish history, are especially timely.

THE SPREAD OF THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

For the most part, exacting scholars have given up hope of imitating Graetz or Dubnow and are content to write smaller, learned monographs of more stringently scientific character on specific subjects. There has been a veritable flood of thousands of books in the last three generations on medieval Hebrew poetry, the Bible, the philosophy, ethics, and religion of Judaism, and the history of towns, families, and individual worthies.

A number of societies have been created in Germany to publish or collect valuable materials that throw light on general Jewish history or on the history of the Jew in Germany. For many years the *Mekize Nirdamim* (Those Who Awaken the Sleepers) have published or reprinted valuable Hebrew works, and in both Frankfort on the Main and Berlin scholarly and popular annuals containing historical and literary materials have been appearing for a generation.

In Berlin there is a General Archive which collects and stores documentary materials, primarily congregational records of past days. There have been a number of periodicals in Germany; the oldest is the *Monthly for the History and Science of Judaism* which has been appearing since 1851.

SCHOOLS FOR SCHOLARS

Germany, down to the present time, has been the training ground for practically all scholars who have worked in the field of Jewish studies. Germany has a number of adequate Jewish libraries in the universities, in the larger public collections, and in the rabbinical colleges. The rabbinical schools of both Breslau and Berlin have sent forth dozens of men who have carried approved methods of research to all parts of the world.

The University for the Science of Judaism (*Hochschule*), founded in Berlin, in 1872, is largely the creation of Abraham Geiger, one of the foremost scholars in the fields of biblical science, medieval literature, and history. This "University," in line with the ideas of Zunz, was to have no theological coloring but was to be open to anyone, Jew or Gentile, man or woman, who might be interested in a dispassionate scholarly study of Jewish antiquities. Although it inclines to the liberal side in Jewish theology, it has, on the whole, preserved its impartial character. Its most notable scholars of this past decade are Elbogen, the historian; Julius Guttmann, the philosopher; Baeck, the homilist and theologian; Baneth and Jakob Epstein, Talmudists; and Torczyner, the Hebraist.

The desire to divorce Jewish study entirely from the influence of any theological school and to provide the means with which to set scholars to work for an extended period, has given rise to the Academy for the Science of Judaism. This organization was founded in 1919, largely through the influence of Hermann Cohen the philosopher, and in the brief period of its troubled existence it has already produced a number of notable works on Spanish and German history and on rabbinic literature. It has also undertaken the publication of a critical edition of the collected works of Moses Mendelssohn. This academy has set the tone for a similar institution in the United States.

Zunz's hope, that the cultural significance of Judaism would be recognized by the state and would lead to the establishment of university chairs for its study, has been realized to only a slight degree. There were, until recently, a few lectureships on Judaism and its history in some of the German schools but these concerned themselves largely with rabbinic literature, in which the Christians, who seek to understand the background of the New Testament, are particularly interested. The lecturer on Judaism at the University of Frankfort, from 1924 until his retirement in 1933, was Martin Buber.

THE PROBLEM OF SUMMARIZING

By 1900, so much work had been done in all fields of research that there was great need for summaries and systematic outlines of the accumulated materials. This was necessary not merely for the convenience of scholars but also for the instruction of the average layman, Jew or Gentile, who sought for authoritative information. Attempts in Germany to publish encyclopedias on a large scale failed. The first successful venture of this sort was the *Jewish Encyclopedia* which began to appear in the United States in 1901. The list of contributors to this standard work includes practically every scholar engaged in the field of Jewish research. The majority of them had either studied in Germany or had come under the influence of scholars of German training.

As if spurred on by the appearance of the first volume of the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* the Society for the Furthering of the Science of Judaism was established in Germany the very next year, 1902. It set out to publish a series of books summarizing our present knowledge of every phase of Jewish life, literature, and history. In addition to this basic task it has undertaken to print and subvention important scientific studies which do not fit into the framework of the above series. In 1927 the *Jüdischer Verlag* of Berlin began the publication of the beautifully illustrated *Jüdisches Lexikon* (Jewish Encyclopedia) which is particularly valuable for the period after 1906 when the American *Jewish Encyclopedia* was completed. At practically the same time that the *Jüdischer Verlag* began the *Lexikon,* the Eschkol Press of Berlin began to bring out the *Encyclopaedia Judaica.* Nine volumes had already appeared when Hitler came to power; now some of its editors are refugees. It would be a great loss to scholarship if this great work should never be completed.

CHRISTIANS AND THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

The obvious accomplishment of the Science of Judaism is that for the first time in all history it has made possible an intelligent and accurate understanding and appreciation of past and present day Jewish life. It has done this not only for the Jew but also for the non-Jew, especially Christians and Moslems, whose religion is closely bound up with that of the Jew. Beginning with the middle of the nineteenth century Christians no longer attempted to interpret Judaism and early Christianity on the basis of their own meager background. They recognized the authoritative character of the new Jewish research and turned to it for guidance.

From then on the scientific world began to take cognizance of the medieval Jew not merely as the object of odious legislation but rather as a cultural factor of worth. Soon there arose a number of Christian rabbinic scholars whose works not only made clear the true nature of early Palestinian Christianity but also helped the Christian world to a more just appraisal of the people of Israel.

Franz Delitzsch—not to be confused with his anti-Semitic son Friedrich—was the first of these important Christian rabbinic scholars. He was followed by Hermann L. Strack (d. 1922) who wrote the standard *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash,* the sixth edition of which was published in English, in 1931, by the Jewish Publication Society of America. *The Jew and Human Sacrifice,* another work of his, has served as the best refutation of the ritual murder myth.

All of these competent Christian scholars have been influenced to enter the field of rabbinics by the leaders of the Science of Judaism.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM ON JEWISH LEARNING

This great discipline has revolutionized Jewish learning. It has uncovered a new knowledge of ethics, philosophy, poetry, and history and has accordingly improved Jewish education everywhere. It has given all parties in Jewry, whether religious or lay, a true concept of the form and content of the past, one on which they can build and from which they can draw. It has thus furthered a finer, because truer, religious development.

Zionism, the great Jewish mass ideal of the last fifty years, found much support in this scientific movement. Unwittingly, the Science of Judaism helped create a national, romantic sentiment through the uncovering of a Jewish past made glamorous through struggle, martyrdom, and achievement. Today, with the very existence of German Jewish cultural institutions threatened by both intolerance and lack of means, and with many Jewish scholars fleeing abroad, the future of this academic art is at stake in the very land which gave it birth.

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The Jewish life of the Jew in Germany may be viewed from a number of angles. We have written of his religion and his Gemeinde, *of his schools, his youth, and his Science of Judaism. The following chapter undertakes the study of still other aspects of Jewish life in Germany: philanthropy, athletics, the position of women, and the numerical decline of the German Jews.*

CHAPTER XIX

OTHER ASPECTS OF JEWISH LIFE IN GERMANY

PHILANTHROPY

THE German Jews were distinguished for their philanthropy which manifested itself in the institutions which they established both for their fellow citizens and for their own co-religionists. The well-known Senckenberg Institutes, natural science research units, which were later taken over by the University of Frankfort, were endowed by the well-known banking house, the Speyers. Another benefactor of this school was the aged Moritz Oppenheim, who, together with his wife, committed suicide early in June, 1933. "They could not continue living under the new circumstances in Germany." Oppenheim had financed research work in botany and astronomy, and a small planet discovered at the local observatory was named Mauritius in his honor. Of the nineteen men who contributed the funds for the research work that is done in Berlin-Dahlem, eight were Jews and three were of Jewish descent.

James Simon (1851-1932) was probably the outstanding Jewish philanthropist of his generation in Germany. A distinguished business man, he was vice-president of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce and, for a time, a member of the board of directors of the Reichsbank. Simon was a keen student of art and a noted collector. Most of his valuable paintings, bronzes, and medals of the Renaissance period are housed in the James Simon Room of the *Kaiser Friedrich Museum* in Berlin. He also gave to the state his collection of German wood sculpture and Gobelin tapestries. In Berlin he interested himself in creating vacation colonies for underprivileged children without regard to their faith. He provided vacations for these unfortunates in the North Sea town of Kolberg where he built a Children's Convalescent Home. One of the streets there was named *Simonstrasse* in his honor; in 1933 its name was changed to *Hermann Göring-Strasse.*

SPORTS

Philanthropy, a characteristic of the Jews in modern times, was equally a dominant trait in medieval days. Sports, on the other hand, found little place in the life of the medieval Jew. Although the modern Jew engages in sports a great deal, there were few instances of the participation of Jews in athletics and similar forms of physical diversion in earlier times.

Notable rabbis of the Germanic lands like Isaac of Vienna (d. ca. 1250) had no sympathy for hunting, and Israel Bruna (died after 1475) frowned at horse-racing, from all of which we may infer that individual Jews both hunted and patronized the races. Meir of Rothenburg, however, once settled an argument in favor of a fencing teacher and spoke of the value of what must have been a very practical sport. There is a report in an old document that some Jews took part in athletic contests in Augsburg in 1470, participating in the foot races, the broad jump, and in putting the shot.

About the year 1500, Ott, a converted Jew, must have been a notable figure. Ott, who was known as the champion wrestler of Austria, and who was athletic adviser to the court of Frederick III, Emperor of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire, is the author of a book on wrestling. Andres Jud Liegnitzer, either a Jew or of Jewish origin, wrote textbooks on fencing and on wrestling. The manuscript of his work on wrestling is reported to be in the possession of Henry Ford.

Whether dancing is a sport or not is a matter of interpretation or practice, but it was one of the most popular means of diversion among the medieval German Jews. Some of their towns had communal dance halls. In general, however, the medieval German Jew engaged very little in the sports of his time.

In earlier centuries, Jews had been forbidden in some places to teach Christians fencing and to attend the jousting tournaments of the nobles. This prohibition does not seem to have disturbed the Marrano, Joseph Nasi, later Jewish Duke of Naxos. He was reported by Christians to have been an active participant in the knightly exercises at the court of the Hapsburg Emperor.

With the rise of the *Turnverein* movement in the early years of the last century, the Jews entered actively into the sports of their fellow-citizens. There seems to have been no Jewish disability in this field. By 1880, it was estimated that 5 per cent of all the members in the *Turn* societies were Jews although, as we know, German Jewry then constituted but a little over one per cent of the total German population.

At least as early as the 1896 Olympiad, Jews represented the German Empire. Individual Jews also began to win national and international prizes as turners, discus throwers, runners, and boxers. In the rather un-German art of boxing, they were frequently champions in the lighter classes: featherweights, fly weights, and bantams. Amateur boxing, particularly, has been encouraged by the Zionist societies. Handball, hockey, and association football are also favorite sports in these groups. The Viennese *Hakoah* (Power) football team is world famous. Two Jews were on the All-German eleven for seven seasons.

The champion jiu-jitsu team in Germany, in 1929, was recruited from the National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers. The coxswain of the famous Mainz crew was Nauen, a Jew.

A number of Jewish women athletes have stood out as leaders in their class. One woman, Lili Hennoch, was woman's champion (1924) in discus throwing, shot-put, and broad jump; another, Martel Jakob, was the champion javelin thrower (1929). Frau Neppach, who committed suicide in the summer of 1933, was one of Germany's outstanding tennis players.

Oskar Kreuzer was a German tennis star in 1912, an international contender in male doubles. In 1927, Dr. Daniel Prenn, the German champion, represented Germany in the Davis Cup international tennis matches. At the Olympic games in Amsterdam, in 1928, Helene Mayer, daughter of a Jewish father, was crowned the best woman fencer. Her brother Fritz was a champion among the university fencers.

A sport that has been typically German, particularly since the War, is gliding. It is very popular among the German Jews, who have produced a number of daring and successful gliders. Robert Kronfeld, a Viennese Jew, is the international champion.

Some wealthy Jews are interested in horse breeding; others participate in the jumping contests or enter their horses in the harness and running races.

But all this is now a matter of the past. Jewish owners and drivers are no longer welcome in the coordinated associations, and Jewish jockies are ruled off the tracks. The new Empire is nothing if not consistent.

This antipathy against non-Aryans in athletics and sports was the culmination of prejudice which had already begun to manifest itself as early as the 'eighties. Anti-Semitism, Jewish nationalism, and possibly gregariousness, have led to the formation of distinctly Jewish sporting clubs. Most of the Jewish youth societies, with very few exceptions, are engaged in some form of athletics.

The Jewish sport movement is linked with the Jewish national cause which emphasizes the importance of developing not merely the spirit and mentality but also the body. As early as the last decade of the nineteenth century the *Bar Kochba* club had been organized in Berlin. It is part of the German Section of the Maccabee World Union, an international youth Zionist athletic association created in 1921. In 1930, the Maccabees had over 40,000 members in twenty-four countries.

Two of the largest clubs, the *Bar Kochba* and the *Hakoah,* now united, have over two thousand members. They do a great deal of indoor gymnastic work (the Germans still stick to the apparatus exercises) but are also very active in football, hockey, tennis, and swimming. They own their own athletic field and employ a number of paid instructors who give instruction in seventeen different gymnasiums in Berlin. They also have some boating and boxing clubs. In Berlin and in other cities there are quite a number of other Jewish athletic clubs not affiliated with the Maccabees. It was estimated that there were over 6,000 Jews in the various Jewish sporting clubs in 1930, about two-thirds of whom were associated with the Jewish nationalist societies.

JEWISH WOMEN IN GERMAN LIFE

The growth of the large cities and the changing economic situation in the middle of the nineteenth century gave rise to a strong movement for the emancipation of women. Intelligent and forceful leaders among the women of all lands sought equality in the economic, political, cultural, and social fields. They demanded equal rights and unrestricted opportunity to take advantage of the rights once they were granted. Among them was a group of notable Jewesses who threw themselves heart and soul into the struggle to give all women equality of opportunity.

It was due in large part to the efforts of Lina Morgenstern (1830-1909), who had studied under Abraham Geiger, that the International Women's Congress met in Berlin, in 1896. As early as 1848 she began her philanthropic work in the field of child welfare. In the course of the next fifty years there was hardly an aspect of social, health, and welfare work for women and children which was not furthered and enriched by her activity and her capacity for organization. She was editor of two women's magazines and wrote over twenty volumes dealing mostly with the work and problems of women and children.

The activities of Lina Morgenstern were in part paralleled by those of Henriette Goldschmidt (d. 1920), one of the few daring spirits who, in 1864, founded the *Allgemeine deutsche Frauenverein*. She strove, with a considerable degree of success, to open to women the institutions of higher education which, at that time, were limited to men. She is the author of the idea of a year of social service training for every girl in order to prepare her for the part she is to play in life. An idea, startlingly similar, has been taken over by the present Hitlerite government.

During the same decades that Lina Morgenstern and Henriette Goldschmidt were trying to secure some measure of political and cultural opportunity for women and children, Fanny Lewald (d. 1889) was writing novels to make them realize their social and economic disabilities and to give them the courage to fight for their own emancipation.

The work of these three in the general German women's movements was carried on by a host of brilliant Jewesses. Jeanette Schwerin-Abarḅanell (1899) helped initiate the effort to federate all the philanthropic agencies in Berlin; Regina Deutsch was a founder of one of the first woman's suffrage societies in the country; Helene Simon fought to stop the exploitation of women and children in the growing industrialized state; Josephine Levy-Rathenau (d. 1921) was a pioneer in the field of vocational guidance, and Alice Salomon (b. 1872), one of the first of her sex to receive a Ph.D degree in Germany, has probably done more than any other German to establish training schools for women social service workers.

These women, all of them outstanding in the attempt to emancipate the under-privileged, were too concerned about the problems of woman in the mass to be interested in the specific problems of the German Jewess. A few had even divorced themselves completely from things Jewish: Fanny Lewald and Alice Salomon were converts to Christianity.

Although the general woman's movement in Germany had already begun in the middle of the last century, there was no specific attempt to create any large-scale Jewish woman's movement in that land until the twentieth century. This Jewish woman's movement did not attain its full status until the creation of the Jewish Women's League in 1904. In 1932, it had about 430 affiliated societies with about 50,000 members. This League has set out to strengthen the feeling of solidarity among Jewish women, to further family life, to protect growing girls, and to cooperate with all agencies interested in the welfare of youth. This *Frauenbund* associated itself in various projects with the Catholics and Protestants, striving, too, to combat the constant menace of anti-Semitism. It seeks to maintain an impartial attitude on the Zionist question but has openly expressed its sympathy for the constructive work done in Palestine. Work of a type similar to that done by the *Frauenbund* is being carried on by the women's auxiliary of the B'nai B'rith with its seventy-nine women's clubs.

In the women's division of the B'nai B'rith, Ernestine Eschelbacher (1858-1931) was an outstanding personality. She was a charming, quaint, old-world figure, recognized even by those who had never seen her before by her ruddy cheeks and her little black bonnet, perched on the back of her silvery hair. She was an able and brilliant woman with an unfailing sense of humor and a most unscientific propensity for coddling schnorrers. Her patience was proverbial. It was told of her that she waited for hours with a group of other club women for a delayed train. Her associates fumed; she only smiled—and when the engine finally came puffing around the bend, she turned to her friends and said with a beaming smile: "Here comes the beautiful, sweet locomotive!"

In the Jewish Women's League, Bertha Pappenheim (b. 1859), a descendant of the famous Glückel of Hameln, was one of the most active and distinguished leaders. For the first twenty years of the existence of this League she guided its destinies and at the same time travelled about extensively in the attempt to unite all Jews to stamp out the white slave traffic. *Sisyphus-Arbeit,* her work on her travels in Palestine and the Balkans, has gone into its second edition. She is also the author of a volume of stories taken from the old Yiddish *Ma'aseh Book*. These tales of the German Jews of earlier centuries have just appeared in English in a translation made by Moses Gaster from the original Yiddish.

The woman's movement in general has always been interested in securing the franchise. After the German revolution of 1918, which gave the franchise in the state to all women, the Jewish women went to work eagerly to secure the right to vote for office and to be elected to office in the *Gemeindes,* the Jewish Communities. They have been successful in many places, although there are still *Gemeinden* in Germany where women cannot hold office.

Jewesses have played little part in the political life of the land. Notable exceptions are Rosa Luxemburg, of whom we have already spoken, and Ruth Fischer. The latter, daughter of the well-known philosopher Rudolf Eisler, served in the Reichstag in 1924 as a representative of a group of Berlin communists. Her tempestuous manner of speaking and her vigorous gestures occasionally ended disastrously for the clothes on her back. After one such heated discourse her opponent remarked dryly that he found it difficult to argue with such naked facts.

Jewesses have been particularly quick to avail themselves of the chances for a higher education. About 29 per cent of the German Jewish students were women; among the non-Jews the percentage was 16. This urge to study reflected itself in the zeal with which they entered the professions. The most popular fields of labor are nursing, teaching, welfare work, music, medicine, and the stage.

In the economic world most of them are found in shops and stores, inns and taverns. In the industries they are concentrated in tailoring and millinery. Over half of the Jews in agriculture are women. It is interesting to note that on the whole the occupational pattern of Jewish women corresponds more closely to the general pattern than that of Jewish men.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS OF JEWS IN GERMANY

The personal, moral life of the Jew offers little cause for condemnation. If he is no better, he is certainly no worse than his fellow

Germans. Bastardy is much less frequent among Jews, and as far as records are available (they are very inadequate), there does not appear to be any real difference between Jews and Gentiles with respect to the frequency of divorce. Suicides, we know, are more frequent among the Jews.

There are no criminal statistics, according to religious confession, for the period since the World War. In the different categories in which crimes were classified in Germany, Jews (1903-1906) had a higher percentage than Christians in eight specific crimes, five of which grew out of business activity. This may be accounted for in part by the fact that 50 per cent of the Jews (1907) were engaged in trade, over against 11 per cent among the non-Jews. Criminality, it would appear, is largely dependent on economic background. In the period from 1903 to 1906 in Germany (for which statistics are available), of the eight major crimes of violence, including theft, murder, arson, and the like, the percentage of Jews convicted was less than that of the non-Jews. Jews were rarely implicated in crimes of violence or murder. There was not a single case in all of Germany of a Jew convicted of murder, infant exposure, and the like, from 1910 to 1917. Of the 2,174 cases of murder and allied crimes arising in Germany in the period 1899-1917, Jews were involved in only four.

THE "DECLINE" OF GERMAN JEWRY

There are a number of ways by which a Jew in Germany could document his secession from the faith and there are also a host of specified causes which might impel him to this end. Few Jews nowadays actually become converts. Records of the Evangelical church show that in the period 1911-1925 there was an annual average of 385 conversions throughout Germany. In the period from 1926 to 1932 the annual average declined to about 200. This, of course, does not include conversions into other Protestant Churches and into the Catholic Church, which would probably account for another hundred or two hundred, making a total of about 300 to

600 converts a year out of a population of approximately 560,000.

For instance, in Berlin, which as we know contains about one-third of German Jewry, 327 Jews, all told, left Judaism in 1923. This total of 327 included not only converts but many who had intermarried, had become free thinkers, or had joined socialist or communist parties. The Communist Party forbids its members to belong to a religious group; the Socialist Party in Germany, though indifferent in theory, in actual practice discouraged its adherents from retaining membership in a religious society. In addition to the 327 Berlin Jews who left Judaism completely, there were 152 that same year who merely seceded from the *Gemeinde.* This group probably left because of inability or unwillingness to pay taxes, or (and this is the most frequent cause) because of some personal dissatisfaction with the conduct of some agent or institution of the *Gemeinde.* On the whole, assimilation through all of these factors is really inconsequential.

More significant are the statistics for intermarriage in Germany. In the period between 1906 and 1930 there were 89,000 marriages in which both parties were Jews; there were 33,000 marriages, in addition, in which one of the parties was a Gentile. Thus, about 27 per cent of the new families which were established were families of intermarriage. A Jew or Jewess may intermarry, it is true, without ceasing to be loyal to the faith. Jewry, however, is ultimately affected in this wise: families of intermarriage have as a rule but one-third as many children as in solely Jewish marriages, and, of the few children born in such families of intermarriage, about 80 per cent are lost to Judaism.

One may infer from the large number of intermarriages and from the non-Jewish affiliation of the resulting offspring that German Jewry is growing very slowly, if at all. This inference is supplemented by population statistics. In 1928, for instance, the birth rate of the Christian Germans was almost twice as large as that of the Jews, while, on the other hand, the death rate of the Jews was about 25 per cent higher than that of the Gentiles. The surplus of births over deaths among the Gentiles in Germany amounted to 7.1 per thousand; in the Jewish fold there was a surplus of *deaths* over births of 3.4 per thousand. Were it not for accretions from immigration, German Jewry would show a sharp decline in actual numbers. It is significant that about five to six thousand Jewish children leave school annually, but only about four thousand enter school.

Since 1871, Germany has increased its population over 50 per cent; Jewry, only 10 per cent; or, in absolute numbers, Germany has grown 21,000,000; Jewry, 52,000. These are the figures for 1925 when there were 564,379 professing Jews in the country, as against a general population of 62,410,619. The Jews then formed 0.9 per cent of the total population. The slight Jewish increase over previous years, which was due, as we have suggested, almost solely to immigration, cannot hide the fact that the native Jewish community was already declining numerically prior to 1933. In all German states except Saxony, Hamburg, and Prussia even the absolute number of Jews showed a decline; Jews were flocking to the large cities. One of the chief problems of the various state associations of Jewish communities was to keep alive the smaller communities which were struggling for existence. But nothing could keep the Jews from filtering into the larger towns to avoid the petty prejudices of the villages and to seek the social, educational, and economic opportunities of the metropolis. By 1905, half of the Jews of Germany were in the large cities; by 1925, this half was concentrated in seven towns. However, only four cities in Germany had a Jewish population amounting to more than 3 per cent of their residents; the Jews in Berlin constituted 4.29 per cent of the total population in 1925.

It is quite obvious that the assertion that anti-Semitism is due in large part to the size and rapid growth of the Jewish population is certainly without foundation in Germany. Jews nowhere in this land constitute an appreciable percentage of the population. It is curious to note that in the states bordering on the Baltic

Sea where there are very few Jews, anti-Semitism is more virulent than in the towns where the Jews are found by the thousands. Without doubt, many German anti-Semites in the rural districts have rarely seen a Jew.

* * *

One who has followed the fortunes of the German Jew to this point cannot help but wonder what his future will be. This future, it is certain, is linked with the fate and destiny of the Nazi government. Will France or Poland or England attack Germany? Will the League of Nations turn against the Third Reich? Will the world of liberals, radicals, trades-unionists, and Jews crush the National Socialists through the weight of their international economic boycott? What of the future of German Jewry if Hitler fails? What if he remains in power?

CHAPTER XX

THE FUTURE OF GERMAN JEWRY: IF HITLER FALLS

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM

IN contradistinction to the Jew of the pre-Hitlerite era, whom we have discussed in the last few chapters, the Jew in Nazi Germany presents, indeed, a sad picture at the present time. The advent of Hitler has meant for the Jew social degradation, political disenfranchisement, and economic distress. Some seventy thousand Jews have fled the country, and although the lot of many of these is undoubtedly difficult in the lands of their refuge, their ultimate adjustment to their environment may be taken for granted.

But what of the half-million Jews who remain in Germany? What is their destiny?

The historian should concern himself with the past and attempt in his humble way to interpret it as best he can. Prophecy is certainly not in his field. Yet the present situation in Germany is not merely a spectacle to be observed and recorded placidly. The fate of a half-million souls is at stake and, if either they themselves or those interested in their plight are to help in bringing about anything approaching a satisfactory solution, a certain amount of projection into the future is unavoidable.

We may not be able to say what the future of German Jewry will be, but we can perhaps list the various possibilities and examine them in the light of the tendencies which are manifest both within and without Germany. Such analysis may yield at least some basis for the formation of an intelligent opinion as to the most probable course of events, and it is, after all, by such an opinion that the conduct and activities of all concerned with the welfare of German Jewry must be guided.

What, then, are these possibilities?

The first possibility to be considered is that the Hitler government will fall. We shall examine the various internal and external forces which are in operation, in the light of their potentialities in this direction. We shall also consider the question of who would be likely to succeed the Nazis if they should fall and how the Jews would be affected by the change.

The second possibility is that the Nazi government will prove to be permanent and stable. In this connection we shall consider from all present indications what the permanent status of the Jew is apt to be. Assuming that this status is likely to be far from a happy one, we shall consider what remedies are possible for the Jews if they are not merely to accept their fate supinely. We shall first examine the prospects of mass emigration and then the elements of strength and weakness in the structure of German Jewry which will influence its survival or extinction if it should remain in Germany. These are the problems to which we now propose to address this chapter.

ARE THE GERMAN PEOPLE APT TO TURN AGAINST HITLERISM?

All modern governments, whether monarchies, republics, soviets, or fascist states, are fundamentally subject to the control of the governed. It is true that small minorities may grasp the reins of power and hold them for a time contrary to the will of the people. But, if observation of the turn of politics in modern times in Russia, Spain, Italy, Germany, and other countries affords any indication at all, it is clear that it is the tenor of the sentiment of the masses of citizens which sooner or later determines the form of government which they will have.

We may safely assume, then, that one of the most potent factors in the question of whether or not the Nazi government will survive, is the attitude of the masses of Germans toward Hitler. What is the present sentiment of those masses and what is the likelihood of their turning against their present leader?

We have already traced, in a previous chapter, the conditions and events which led to the rise of Hitlerism. We have seen how the anti-Semitism of the pre-War period furnished fertile soil for the luxurious growth which Hitler has nurtured. We have seen how the post-War condition of Germany, its degraded status among the nations and its shattered internal morale and economics, prepared the way for the movement toward rehabilitation which Naziism represents to the German masses.

To millions Hitler represents more than a political leader, and National Socialism, more than a party. To them he is a savior, a Christ who offers salvation not after death, but here and now. Under him the feeling of frustration which lurked in the soul of many a German since the War has been banished. A nation of subjects has, by the magic of his words, been converted into a nation of lords: militant, defiant of their enemies, convinced of the righteousness of their cause, and determined that their new Germany shall rank second to none in the family of the nations.

It is tragic, of course, that the Jews should have been selected as a symbol of the enemy, one of the antichrists against whom the legions of the new savior are sworn to do battle. But the fact remains that this is the rôle which has been thrust upon them. As long as the Nazi movement remains there is little hope of much improvement in their lot, unless, of course, the present political and economic conditions in Germany force the Nazis to reverse themselves radically.

There can be no question that the Hitler regime is rapidly approaching a crisis. Both politically and economically its position is most precarious. There is a growing shortage of food and fodder; prices are rising and wages are falling. The depletion of the gold reserves, the unfavorable position of the mark in the world's markets, the lack of raw materials, the sharp decline in exports—all these factors are crippling German industry. The menace of increasing unemploymnt looms large on the horizon.

The impoverished peasants are now being called upon by a desperate government to surrender their crops to the state at fixed prices; the city proletarians are asked to reduce their style of living to a plane below the shabby minimum on which they now barely subsist.

Politically, almost the entire world has turned against the Nazi regime, ostracizing it morally. Any day may witness the collapse of Hitler and his cohorts. The implacable logic of internal, economic decline and foreign encirclement would seem at the date of this writing (August, 1934) to presage the speedy and almost inevitable fall of Hitler.

But in spite of the Roehm conspiracy of June, 1934, Hitler is still the living symbol of the mysticism and aspiration of German youth. He has lifted his movement from the plane of politics to the height of a religion. Even if he should prove unable to fulfill his promise of bread to the hungering masses immediately, the national hopes which he has aroused for a glorious future may dull the senses of his worshipping adherents to the pangs within their entrails. And if the world economic depression should lift, his position will gain in security.

The millions in Germany who fail to see Hitler in quite this light, the socialists, the communists, the liberals in general, are held firm in the grip of the most efficient terrorism of modern times. They are beaten and outnumbered. Their press is destroyed. They dare not speak; they dare hardly think even in the privacy of their own chambers.

Between Hitler and his opposition stands the iron hand of his semi-military organizations, besides the unregimented civilian groups which hail him. Hitler's power in Germany is not yet broken.

For these reasons it would seem that the Nazi regime will continue to maintain itself for the present at any rate, unless, of course, economic conditions become althogether catastrophic.

WILL THE OTHER NATIONS DESTROY THE THIRD REICH?

There is no doubt that Germany has succeeded in arousing the antipathy of many nations. Her immediate neighbors view her with alarm as well as suspicion. They see Germany drilling her youth, emphasizing military science abnormally, militarizing all of life in fact. They dread the menace of the growing militarism within her borders.

These nations believe, with probably some measure of justice, that the militarism of Italy is largely bluster intended for internal consumption and that the large armies of France are not permeated with a particularly aggressive spirit. But they are convinced, if we are to place any credence in the spirit of the German press and in the utterances of qualified spokesmen, that Germany is determined to rehabilitate herself in Europe by the power of the sword. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (My Battle)—if it is still authoritative—affords eloquent testimony to the belligerency of the new Germany and its threat to the peace of Europe.

Those nations which are founded upon democratic and constitutional ideals feel the menace of Hitlerism most keenly. They realize that Hitler's ideals as well as the form of government which he favors are the very antithesis to their own, and that he expresses his supreme contempt for these ideals upon every occasion. They realize, too, the disruptive nature of the Nordic race theory when applied as a criterion of political status. It is obvious to them that such theories create castes, emphasize unnecessary distinctions, and arouse bitter resentments. To them, a national unity based on "blood" instead of language and culture is dangerous, stimulating unhealthy reactions among the ranks of their own citizens.

Moreover they realize the threat inherent in National Socialism to religious liberty, to freedom of thought and expression, and to the ideals of science, art, and literature. In short, the nations of the world are thoroughly cognizant of all that Naziism signifies as a menace to their own welfare.

Yet, barring overt acts of defiance or aggression by Hitler which might rouse these nations to war against the Third Reich, there is little likelihood that the Nazi government will be destroyed from without. The nations of the world are too much preoccupied with their own internal difficulties to undertake a war against mere ideas, no matter how radically these may differ from their own or how potentially dangerous enlightened minds may perceive them to be.

To be sure, a voice of protest, official or unofficial, has been raised from time to time in these countries. But it is difficult to determine what good can or will be accomplished by this type of action. Diplomatic protests are normally of a very formal character; they are relatively ineffective even when vigorous in nature. At best, the protest of individual nations may lead to the mollification of some of the harsher edicts of the Nazis which may outrage too violently the humane sentiments of civilized society. The danger to the actual existence of the Hitler regime from this source can safely be discounted.

However, it is well at this point to survey the protest movement as it manifests itself in various parts of the world today. In practically every country of the western world quite a number of organizations have been brought to birth by both Jews and Gentiles. The socialists, the trades-unions, and the various liberal and democratic societies of all lands are devoting time and effort to this work. A number of European states like France, England, and Czechoslovakia look with favor upon these organizations and their aims.

In the United States the struggle against the forces that have overthrown the German Republic has been carried on by non-Jewish as well as by Jewish organizations. They alike hope to rouse the conscience of humanity in this country against all that the Hitler movement stands for and to condemn it through a marshalling of public opinion. Their campaign of enlightenment is based on the hope that no government can long survive universal, moral indignation and condemnation.

Outstanding in this country among these organizations is the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights.

The leading American Jewish organizations which have turned their attention to this problem are the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the B'nai B'rith which works largely through its anti-Defamation League. These three societies operate through a Joint Consultative Council (since 1933) which is pledged to work in harmony to oppose the inroads of the German fascist movement in this country. The unity which they have achieved only after years of troubled negotiation has been impaired by the decision of the Jewish trades-unionists to create a separate organization of their own (Labor Committee for Jewish Affairs). Perhaps this may be offset by their potency in reaching masses not reached by the other organizations.

The three major groups have made representations to President Roosevelt and the United States government urging them to exert their good offices to bring about a change for the better in Germany. No vigorous denunciation of German policy, such as occurred in March and April, 1933, in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, has as yet taken place in Congress, although there has been some spirited discussion of the German Jewish question by a number of congressmen and senators.

Mass demonstrations, largely by Jews, though frequently by Gentiles, too, have occurred in most American cities. Public opinion in this land has also been informed of the true state of affairs in the new German Empire. The American Jewish Committee, through its White Book, *The Jews in Nazi Germany* (New York, 1933), has made available an accurate collection of laws and statistics which document in considerable detail the Nazi terrorism and the medieval restrictions reimposed on German Jewry.

Non-political organizations like the American Association of University Professors, the American Legion (Chicago convention, 1933), various Bar Associations, groups of Christian clergymen, and liberal-minded American women have uttered their protests against the National Socialist leaders.

There is no question that this program of enlightenment carried on by Jews and Gentiles in a number of lands has been of some avail. National Socialism does stand condemned before the bar of public opinion in most of the democratic states and even in some of the more conservative fascist countries like Italy. Hitlerism will probably fall, but whether public opinion alone can accomplish this end is questionable.

WHAT MAY BE EXPECTED FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

If the individual nations are not likely to effect the overthrow of the Hitler regime, is there any probability that the League of Nations, the concert of the nations of the world, may do so?

The League has been most wary in tackling the Germans. At the time of the Nazi accession to power, international economic problems and the whole morass of the disarmament problem loomed large on the horizon. In the summer and winter of 1933 there was a general desire in the League to placate rather than to antagonize Germany.

Many Jews abroad felt that there were sufficient legal grounds for intervention by any one of the Entente powers that had fought in the World War. On May 29, 1919, Germany had expressly promised the allies at the Peace Conference, that she would protect her own religious and racial minorities:

> "Germany advocates in principle the protection of national minorities . . . Germany on her part is resolved to treat minorities of alien origin in her territories according to the same principles."

Under date of June 16, 1919, the allies acknowledged the above German declaration saying, among other things, that:

> "They take note of the statement of the German delegates that Germany is determined to treat foreign minorities within her territory according to the same principles."

Three years later, in September, 1922, the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted a resolution which read as follows:

> "The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which

> are not bound by a legal obligation to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious, or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council."

Still later, as recently as April 12, 1929, Germany, in an official communication to the League, said:

> "The preservation of the racial characteristics of minorities, as well as their cultural, linguistic, and religious liberties, must be assured them. Responsibility for this guarantee is incumbent, in the first place, upon the countries to which the minorities belong. They must recognize the safeguarding of these minority rights as a fundamental law, the effects of which cannot be restricted by any other laws, regulations or official measures of any kind whatever. This fundamental law has, moreover, been given an international character. Its observation has been placed under the guarantee of the highest international organization, the League of Nations."

In the period in which these statements fall, Germany was a republic. She had not the slightest intention of mistreating minorities within her own borders but was primarily concerned with the protection of her own German minorities in Poland.

The above admissions of Germany apparently supply ample legal ground for intervention on behalf of the Jews, a religious if not a racial minority, by either the League or one of the Entente powers such as the United States. Certainly moral and humanitarian considerations reinforced the legal grounds sufficiently to justify action by the League.

However, no action was taken. Individual members of the Council felt, like Count Raczynski of Poland, that "All the Members of the Council had, however, at least a moral right to make a pressing appeal to the German Government to ensure equal treatment for all the Jews of Germany" (May 30, 1933). But the League as a body did nothing.

Possibly the League or the individual Entente powers felt that inasmuch as Germany had signed no specific minority rights treaty, as had other nations (Poland, for instance) she could not be legally held to protect her minorities. However, the inability or disinclination of the League to intervene for the Jews in Germany, even to assure them minority rights status, is indicative of the futility of the hope that the League will be the undoing of Hitler.

If the League could not or would not intervene in Germany as a whole, it did have a definite obligation to intervene on behalf of the Jews in one particular German province, Upper Silesia. On May 15, 1922, a treaty had been made between Germany and Poland which contained provisions guaranteeing the rights and privileges of all minorities in Upper Silesia. This German-Polish Convention was subject to the control of the League of Nations. In the National Socialist Revolution of 1933, however, the German Jews in this province were deprived of many of their fundamental rights.

One of these Silesian Jews, Franz Bernheim, a refugee in Prague, filed a petition of protest on May 17, 1933, requesting the Council of the League of Nations to annul the Nazi anti-Jewish laws in Upper Silesia and to see to it that the Jews were reinstated in their rights and given compensation. The appeal of Bernheim was successful; the Germans retreated from their position officially on June 6, 1933, declaring that the anti-Jewish measures in Upper Silesia which were in conflict with the German-Polish Convention would be corrected. It was a moral victory for the Jews, but was otherwise of little help to the masses in Germany. In fact, the victory is of relatively little importance even to the 10,000 Jews of Upper Silesia, intimidated as they are by the rule of National Socialist leaders.

The German Jewish question, as a whole, came up again before the League in October, 1933, but against the determined opposition of Germany nothing could be accomplished except the administration of a public rebuke. The Third Empire would not even tolerate the appointment of a relief commission that would be an integral part of the League itself, and, as we have already intimated, the tendency of the League was to tread very gently with Germany.

A compromise was finally effected in the decision to appoint a High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Others) Coming from Germany (October 11, 1933). The commission which he was to head was charged with the care of all refugees, both Jews and non-Jews. It is autonomous in the sense that it is divorced officially from the League and is subject only to the individual states whose representatives sit on the Governing Body of the Commissison.

The Council of the League of Nations named the American, James G. McDonald, as the High Commissioner. He is aided by a board of fifteen members, one from each of the fifteen countries which are either lands of destination for large numbers of refugees or neighbors of Germany, and hence have the immediate problem of coping with the emigrants. The Governing Body has the aid of an Advisory Council of seventeen which includes the notable Jewish and non-Jewish philanthropic and communal associations of Europe and America.

The general plan of the Commission is to raise money, to coordinate the relief work, and to negotiate with interested governments in order to help the *émigrés* find a permanent home for themselves. "But beyond this," says McDonald, "there is also the need for a large measure of coordination in the formulation of a comprehensive program, not so much for relief as for the retraining and placement of the refugees in communities in different parts of the world." (*The New York Times,* December 24, 1933.) This Commission has no authority to concern itself with the Jews left in Germany but solely with those who have already fled abroad.

By the summer of 1934, the number of emigrants was somewhere in the neighborhood of 80,000, at least 65,000 to 70,000 of whom were Jewish. About 25,000 were in France, about 15,000 were in Palestine, and the rest were in Poland, Holland, Czechoslovakia, England, the United States, and a few other lands.

With the establishment of this Commission, the League officially dismissed the Jewish problem with its blessing.

THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT AS AN ATTEMPT TO UNSEAT HITLERISM

Realizing the strength of the Hitler regime, the futility of the hope that the individual states or the League of Nations will bring about its downfall, and the ineffectiveness of vocal protests alone, some groups have suggested a more vigorous plan for action. Many of the trades-unions of Europe and America and a large group of Jews in many lands believe that the only way to crush the Hitlerite forces is by an effective boycott.

There can be no question that one of the main reasons why Hitler won millions of the German electorate was because he promised bread and work to a hungry nation. A vigorous boycott by Jews, humanitarians, and liberals might hurt the German manufacturers and industrialists sufficiently to cause them to remonstrate with Hitler and urge him to abandon his anti-Semitic and anti-liberal policy. If the boycott were sufficiently successful, it might succeed in increasing unemployment among the masses, causing them to rise against Hitler and his party. A successful boycott, it is maintained, by bringing pressure to bear from the industrialists on top and from the masses below, might bring about the overthrow of the Nazi forces, thus effecting the return of constitutional government and the consequent restoration of Jewish equality. This is the theory of the boycott. This point of view is maintained aggressively by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights which, under its leader Mr. Samuel Untermyer, is preaching a vigorous boycott against Germany. This point of view also has the tacit support of those nations which felt themselves threatened by a militaristic Germany and are not too eager for the competition of a rehabilitated, industrial Germany.

This view, however, is not shared even by all Jews. Many Jews both here and abroad object strenuously to a boycott of German goods and services. United world action in this direction, they declare, would only serve to lend credence to the anti-Semitic myth of a Jewish "International" conspiring against the world. A boycott, to be successful, others say, must be extensive, and this is impossible because of lack of Jewish unity. The fact that many organizations, such as the American Jewish Committee and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, have failed to join the boycott militates against its effectiveness.

While it may or may not be pertinent to the present situation, the Jewish historian might be called upon to testify that the only time in history when world Jewry attempted such action, it failed. In 1556-1558 the famous Gracia Mendesia, wealthy Jewish philanthropist, called upon the Jews to boycott the papal harbor of Ancona in Italy because Pope Paul IV had ruthlessly burned about twenty-four Marranos at the stake (in 1555). This boycott was altogether ineffective because it failed to win the unanimous support of the Jews.

Another serious consideration which stands in the way of an effective boycott is that a great many people in the United States are to some extent dependent upon the business they do with Germany. As a matter of fact we normally sell Germany considerably more than we buy from her. Furthermore, banks and private individuals in America have invested over a billion dollars in post-War Germany. If she cannot do business freely she will never be able to repay either the capital or the interest on her American loans, a consideration which weighs very heavily in determining the attitude of the investor class toward the boycott idea.

The problem of the German Americans presents another difficulty. Many Americans of German descent refuse to realize that it is the Hitlerite party and not Germany or the German people that are being attacked through the boycott. These German Americans feel a certain sense of solidarity with their old homeland, even if they do not particularly approve of all the Hitlerian policies. Their resentment against the German boycott may lead them, many opponents of the boycott feel, to institute a counter-boycott against the Jews in this country. Jewish retail merchants would be in a particularly exposed position should this occur, since there are millions of these German Americans in this country, located in large numbers in many important cities; hence many of the retailers are vocal in their opposition. That these fears of the Jewish opponents of the boycott were not altogether without foundation is manifested by the creation in New York City of an anti-Jewish boycott organization calling itself the German-American Protective Alliance (DAWA, *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Wirtschafts Ausschuss*). There are similar boycott organizations in various states, as for example, the American Citizens League of Ohio (*Amerikanische Buerger Liga von Ohio*).

Against all of these arguments advanced by the opponents of the boycott, those who favor it maintain that no Jew with any iota of self-respect will permit himself to be maligned through the racial propaganda of Hitler without attempting to defend himself. The only way open to him is to refuse to have anything to do with German goods or services.

They feel that Germany today, in the midst of the depression and rising tariff walls, is particularly vulnerable financially. The fear of a continued decline in exports and an increase in unemployment is the only thing, they argue, which will impel the National Socialists either to abandon their anti-Jewish policies altogether, or at least to ameliorate them. Knowing also that the German mark is supported by gold only to the extent of about 2 per cent (July, 1934) they believe that even if the boycott is only slightly successful, it will be sufficient to threaten the entire monetary foundations of the German state. The huge sums of paper money which are being printed daily for public works and unemployment relief, coupled with the heavy expenditures of the government for propaganda both within and without Germany, make inflation a probability to be reckoned with. The advocates of the boycott feel confident that the very thought of another inflation such as that of 1922-23, with its widespread suffering, would be sufficient to rouse the German masses to arms against the Nazis. This fear would be aggravated by the fact that, under present circumstances, no credits are flowing into the country. The only thing which in an inflation could inspire confidence in the surrounding nations and influence them to lend their resources to stabilize German finances would be the overthrow of Naziism, the force which threatens their peace and well-being.

In addition to the financial vulnerability of Germany, the advocates of the boycott point out that she is also economically vulnerable. Germany is not economically self-sufficient; she must sell widely in order that she may have the wherewithal to buy the raw materials which she does not possess. With the aid of the boycott, it is argued, Great Britain and the United States are placed in a position to offer her keen competition. In addition, through their unlimited resources and more elastic currencies, these nations may derive further advantages in international trade. The proof of the effectiveness of the boycott efforts, thus far, lies in the decline which has already taken place in German exports. In addition, passenger traffic on German steamships and the formerly lucrative summer tourist business have shrunk to new low levels. Germany's own statistics confirm this. If this initial success is pushed forward vigorously enough through an even more highly organized boycott, it is argued, even the members of Hitler's own party must turn against him through economic necessity.

There are those who feel that the elimination of hundreds of Jewish financial, business, and technical experts from the structure of German finance and industry has hurt Germany as much as it has hurt the individual Jews concerned. This loss of valuable personnel, which cannot be made good overnight, is perhaps to some extent responsible, along with the boycott, for the decline in German business which the statistics reflect.

This argument of the boycott is the first one thus far, of all those we have considered, which seems to be at all supplied with teeth. We have seen that the Jews have little to hope for from the cowed German masses, from the individual nations, or from the League of Nations, as far as the prospect of overthrowing Naziism is concerned. In view of the effects already in evidence from the unorganized boycott which has thus far been carried on, it would seem that a more rigid boycott might contain greater potentialities than any other factor for the destruction of the Nazi government.

The question of whether or not a more effective boycott can be organized still remains unsolved. The arguments of the opposition carry a certain amount of weight; so, likewise, do the position and importance of those who oppose it. It must be confessed also that even among those who favor the boycott, there are many who are not too sanguine as to its possible effectiveness in actually causing the downfall of the Nazi state.

Many Jews nevertheless feel that it is immaterial whether or not the actual objective of the boycott is reached. What is important in their eyes is that not only Germany but all the nations be made to realize that those who confess Judaism will not stand helplessly by and allow themselves to be led like dumb beasts to the slaughter. A blow at the German fascists is to these Jews living outside of Germany not only a blow for German Jewry but a blow in their own self-defense. If the Nazis in Germany are successful, they argue, there is every reason to believe that similar attacks on the Jews will break out in practically every country of the world. The Jew in every land must fight Naziism heroically and with every weapon at his command, for it presents a danger from which no Jew can otherwise flee or escape.

The argument that the lot of the German Jew will be made even worse if the boycott is successful is countered by the belief that conditions cannot be much worse than they are. The antagonism of American investors in German bonds and securities will have to be risked. Many German Americans in whom there is still a touch of the spirit of '48 or who are part of the American trades-union movement have no sympathy for the reactionary revolutionists at the helm in the Germany of today.

It is true that hundreds of thousands of innocent Germans, both Christians and Jews, would suffer as a result of a successful boycott. However, millions are now doomed to endless suffering if the Nazi regime continues; not only the socialists, communists, liberals, and Jews themselves, but their children and children's children. If a successful boycott were to rid Germany of the National Socialist incubus and set up some less reactionary form of government assuring freedom and opportunity to all, the suffering incident to the boycott would be amply compensated for.

IF NAZIISM SHOULD FALL, WHAT WOULD BE ITS SUCCESSOR?

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that any or all of these forces which we have discussed in the preceding sections, or even some capricious "accident" of history, were to cause the downfall of the present Hitler group. What would then be the most likely form of government which Germany would assume? And, furthermore, how would the Jews be likely to fare under this change of government?

The dissatisfaction of very many Germans with the republican form of government which, unfortunately, was synchronous with hard times, makes it very improbable that they will, for a long time to come, return to that type of polity. We may therefore dismiss a return to the Republic as unlikely.

It is a peculiar fact that the radical economic theories preached by the Nazis before they came to power have, without meaning to do so, made many Germans unconsciously sympathetic to communism, the very movement they now so relentlessly persecute. Besides, the "opposition" in Germany today consists largely of the communist and socialist minority. Though it has been driven under cover and persecuted, it has an ideology, it has a program and, most important of all, it has potential leaders who might muster sufficient courage to take the helm in the event of a turn in politics. Hence, if Hitler fails, it is not at all improbable that some form of radical socialistic or communistic government might be established.

Much as Jews desire the overthrow of Naziism a sharp turn to the left would present no advantage for them. A turn to the left, politically, would mean the rise of a national communism or an international communism, both of which, from the point of view of the average German Jew, are infinitely worse than the present capitalistic Hitlerism. A national communism, which would maintain the Aryan Paragraph and would actually nationalize all property and wealth, would completely destroy the status of the German Jew and make it practically impossible for him even to remain in the land. An international communism of the Russian type would grant the Jew civil equality but would at the same time nationalize his property and goods and, what is far more important, would exert itself to crush many of his religious institutions and look askance at his very practice of religion. The Jew would find himself, thus, going out of the frying pan into the fire. There are, apparently, worse alternatives than even Hitlerism.

There remains, finally, the possibility that in the event of the failure of the Third Reich, the German people will turn for help to a regency or a new monarchy. The standing army, the *Reichswehr,* is sympathetic to monarchial aspirations. An appreciable proportion of the German people have, even under the Republic, harbored secret yearnings for the return of the monarchy. Under this form of government they had achieved their greatest glory. Besides, the German people have never been sympathetically inclined toward communism, apparently the only alternative to a monarchy today in Germany.

For these reasons, the establishment of a regency or even the return to power of some popular dynasty is a possibility strongly to be considered in the event of the failure of the present government. From the Jewish point of view, a regency or monarchy would unquestionably be preferable to either the racial nationalism of the Nazis or the economic and religious radicalism of the communists. Their disabilities under a monarchy would probably be removed, officially, but enforced to some extent by the bureaucracy, as in the pre-War period. Despite this fact, Jews could labor for the spread of greater tolerance and for the ultimate achievement of genuine equality.

In any event, whatever may be the course of German history in the near future, the Jew has already been placed under a handicap which would require tremendous effort to remove. It is questionable whether the passing of Hitler will materially improve the condition of the Jew. The harm has already been done. The insensate hatred of National Socialism toward the Jews has fed the fires of prejudice to the point where one wonders if they will ever again wane or flicker. Now that anti-Semitism is intensively cultivated in German schools and homes, the age-old dislike of the Jew will be crystallized and will remain to plague unborn generations of Jews even after Hitler himself has disappeared, no matter what form of government comes to stay.

* * *

But let us assume that Hitlerism will not pass. What then will happen to the Jew in the consolidated Nazi state? What will be his permanent status? How will he adjust himself and his institutions in a land whose government conceives of anti-Semitism as a gospel of salvation? What elements in present day German life might lead us to believe that the Jew will survive?

CHAPTER XXI

THE FUTURE OF GERMAN JEWRY: IF HITLER SURVIVES

HITLER STILL HOLDING ON

AFTER evaluating carefully all of the forces which might bring about the fall of the Nazis, we cannot but conclude that the greater probability is that Hitler and his National Socialist state will hold on, for some time at any rate. Even German Jewry has been forced to accept this as a fact. It is in daily contact with the masses of Germans and though it finds some evidence of growing dissatisfaction with Hitler and his views it has seen no sign at all of any protest against his anti-Jewish policies. Not a single Christian institution in Germany, religious or otherwise, has as yet lifted its voice against the disabilities imposed on Jews. German Jewry is also mindful of the fact that any opposition is relentlessly tracked down and ruthlessly crushed.

Inasmuch as the German Jew cannot sit placidly by and wait for the "accident" or the logic of history to bring him justice, he has undertaken that adjustment to Naziism which he deems wisest and most expedient.

WHAT STATUS DOES HITLER WISH TO ASSIGN THE JEWS?

Before we can even begin to consider the possible adjustments of the German Jew to his unhappy situation, we must first understand thoroughly the status which the Nazis wish to accord the Jew in the new Reich.

Hitler himself, apparently, does not wish even to tolerate them. Impartial observers have been informed by leading Nazi officials that they are determined to close all economic opportunities completely to the Jews and to render them wholly helpless and destitute. This is their avowed purpose.

Further indications of this intention are seen in the economic disabilities that persist and have been intensified throughout 1933 and 1934. Blacklists of Jewish business and professional men have been compiled; Jews are continuously being driven out of economic bodies and associations where they still serve either as executives or as members; they are continually being eliminated from positions as managers or employees in places of business.

Public institutions, like newspapers and radios, frequently refuse to accept advertisements from Jews; compilers of official directories refuse to register Jewish firms. Banks in various parts of the country are calling in loans made to Jews or refusing further aid to Jewish firms.

The boycott against "non-Aryans" still persists in various sections of Germany. People are still intimidated against patronizing Jewish shops, and pickets are still being posted (unofficially, of course, but nonetheless effectively) in front of a few Jewish places of business. The distribution of leaflets and placards calling for a boycott of the Jews is not an uncommon sight.

A particularly effective procedure, especially in the smaller towns, is to photograph customers who patronize Jews and to threaten them with the publication of their pictures and their names. This measure has been so successful that many small-town Jewish business men have been compelled to close their shops and migrate to the larger towns where they hope to find more tolerable conditions.

While these anti-Jewish activities are certainly indicative of the position of the Nazi leadership with reference to the economic and professional welfare of the Jews, the National Socialists are not wholly at liberty to take the action they so earnestly desire. They have entrusted the economic guidance and welfare of the country to "big business." (The purely socialistic aspect of the economic program of the Third Empire has been almost entirely dropped by Hitler.) The sound, conservative business men now in the saddle, though not at all sympathetic to Jews, are not virulent anti-Semites either. They have had to retain their perspective.

They are vitally concerned in the maintenance of the economic and political position of Germany in the world. They realize that the complete degradation of the Jew, with confiscation of his goods or arbitrary expulsion which is desired by some, would brand Germany as wholly savage in the eyes of the world. The economic ostracism which would be likely to follow might hurt business and increase unemployment beyond remedy at a time when the financial future of Germany is trembling in the balance.

These conservatives have evidently convinced Hitler, against his inclination, that the Jews must be tolerated to some extent.

WHAT STATUS IS LIKELY TO BE ASSIGNED?

Hitler has been very slow, however, to crystallize even the new inferior status of the Jews because some of the leaders of his group, like Dr. Achim Gercke, expert for race matters in the Ministry of the Interior, have pointed out that crystallization of Jewish status, on whatever basis, implies the right to remain in the country. Conversely, if the Jews were granted minority rights, as Rector Ernst Krieck of the University of Frankfort has suggested, there would always be the fear of intervention by the League of Nations. As long as these non-Aryans have no recognized status they can be subjected to any treatment the Empire sees fit.

The imposition of a charter on the Jews, such as was commonly promulgated during the Dark Ages, would very likely invite the condemnation of liberal lands like England and the United States. Yet, though the German government is extremely sensitive to public opinion in these two great states and is most eager to secure their favor, it seems inevitable that the present regime, if it survives, will have to regulate the status of Jewry by some type of special charter. The present German government is nothing if not systematic and efficient, and the absence of an organic statute regulating the Jewish group offends its authoritarian sense.

It is fairly certain that any such charter for German Jewry will merely collect and expand existing anti-Jewish legislation. It is very questionable whether the state will attempt to create a physical ghetto, as Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi expert for foreign affairs, has proposed. Similarly Rosenberg's proposal that the Jews speak a language of their own is probably destined to remain a pious wish.

On the basis of the previous anti-Jewish legislation, the proposed charter will probably present this picture: the Jew will no longer be a citizen but will become a ward of the state. He will not be permitted to vote or to run for office. He will not be acceptable as a civil servant and, of course, will not be tolerated in either the army or the navy. Jewish children will be permitted to go to the elementary schools but their attendance at the high schools (*Gymnasien*) and the universities will be limited to 1.5 per cent of the total enrollment. This will naturally curtail the ultimate number of professional men.

Special provisions will no doubt be made, limiting specifically the number of Jews who will be permitted to engage in law and medicine. In commerce and industry there will probably be no official limitation. In actuality, state control or interest in many major industries and the growing practice on the part of national, state, provincial, and communal authorities of dealing only with Aryan firms will keep large fields of economic opportunity closed to the Jews. The civil service restrictions will, of course, serve to keep the number of those who make a living in fields allied to the professions down to a minimum. Intermarriage will be rigidly prohibited, thus giving legal sanction to the tremendous social barrier which already exists between Jews and non-Jews.

The Jewish community will probably continue to be recognized by the authorities as a legalized corporation with power to speak for Jewry. It is also likely that the Nazis with their passion for "coordination" will mold the loosely federated National Committee of German Jewish State Associations into one centralized authoritative Jewish body. Napoleon did so in France in 1808; Mussolini did so in Italy in 1931; Hitler will perhaps do the same.

Such is the charter which the Third Empire will probably offer to the German Jews. The Jews in Germany, though opposed to any charter which will crystallize their disabilities, are nevertheless anxious to have their status fixed so that they may know where they stand.

THE ALTERNATIVES OPEN TO GERMAN JEWRY

1. Migration

That life under the charter which we have described would be far from a bed of roses for the German Jews is apparent. The question remains now whether the Jews care to submit to this charter and adjust themselves to an entirely new mode of life or whether they prefer to pick up in a body and quit the land of their oppressors.

About 70,000 Jews have already left Germany; of the bare 500,000 who remain there is no doubt that many would like to escape to other, more liberal lands. What is it that stops them?

For one thing, money. Those Jews whom the German catastrophe has left still in possession of funds can go almost anywhere they choose. There are no restrictions imposed by the Nazis on the right to leave except that they may not take with them their entire fortune unless they are prepared to surrender a substantial "flight" tax to the state. The large majority of the Jews, however, have been left with very little means and have no other choice than to stay where they are.

The second and most serious obstacle to mass migration is that there is no place to which Jews can go in any considerable number. France already has 25,000 refugees and is balking strenuously at the prospect of having more German Jews pour across its borders. Many of these refugees arrive destitute, having managed to get only enough money together to see them out of Germany. The problem of the care of these immigrants to prevent them from becoming public charges, the problem of vocational training and placement in the face of anti-alien legislation and existing unemployment in France, and the problem of preventing unfavorable or even anti-Semitic reactions among the French people are matters which are already giving great concern to the organizations handling relief and rehabilitation.

Other European lands are in more or less the same position as France. Poland has about 6,000 Jewish refugees. Czechoslovakia has about 5,000, as has also Holland. England has about 3,000; Belgium and Switzerland have each about 2,500; the Scandinavian lands harbor about 1,500; and about 800 are in Austria. These lands are unwilling to admit many more refugees since they feel that they cannot absorb them without upsetting their own economic balance. The entire situation is aggravated by the fact that the German debacle occurred in the midst of the economic depression with unemployment rife in every land and all agencies of relief tremendously overburdened with their own internal needs.

The first of the *émigrés* were political refugees and were not, as a rule, men of substance. Some of the later emigrants, business men, had some means. The professional men can bring with them only their skills and techniques, but no funds. The younger men have only their youth, their energies, and their hopes.

It is possible that in British South Africa and in South America opportunities may exist for some German Jews. China and Manchukuo, and perhaps even Soviet Russia, may hold out some possibility of settlement to others. In none of these lands, however, can thousands be accommodated. Yet there are at least 125,000 adult Jews in Germany who are faced with unemployment and who would have to be rehabilitated if mass emigration were the means selected to solve the German Jewish problem.

A somewhat different picture is presented by the United States with reference to the problem of German immigrants. Even under the very restricted immigration legislation in the United States, thousands of German Jews could be admitted if the consuls were so instructed. The German quota is relatively liberal, 25,957, and has not been exhausted for years. The number of quota Germans admitted during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, was 1,324, leaving a surplus of 24,273 possible visés per annum. Action recently taken by the State and Labor Departments would seem to indicate that a more liberal policy toward German political refugees is now contemplated. It remains to be seen to what extent the present immigration policy will be liberalized in actual practice. Until now, relatively few fleeing German Jews have been admitted to our land. The opening of the gates here would not only serve as a rebuke to Germany but would stiffen the morale of a crushed German Jewry. Yet, even if the attitude of the United States should develop in accordance with the most sanguine hopes of those who advocate a more liberal immigration policy, it cannot be expected to take care of a sufficient number of German Jews to solve their problem.

Could Palestine serve as a haven of refuge? The Holy Land has about 15,000 German Jewish refugees already (1934). The influx of these refugees so frightened the Arab nationalists that they conducted a series of public demonstrations against Jewish immigration. Riots ensued in October, 1933; British soldiers fired on the Arab mobs; and the cautious English authorities immediately introduced a drastic limitation of the number of immigrants allowed into Palestine.

The Zionists themselves do not wish to reserve Palestine's opportunities for the distressed Germans alone. They have obligations to would-be Jewish immigrants all the way from America to Afghanistan. If, under the most favorable circumstances, the new Zionist quota of about 10,000 a year could be turned over *in toto* to the Germans, it would be helpful but by no means a solution to the problem of clearing Germany of its harrassed Jews. At that rate it would take many years to absorb 500,000 Jews. Palestine can be regarded, no more than the United States, as a solution to the problem of the German Jew.

With most nations of Europe already very close to the limit of the number of German Jews they can or are willing to absorb, with the United States unable, even with the best of intentions, to account for more than fifteen or twenty thousand a year, and with tiny Palestine not only limited in its resources and possibilities but guarded by the watchful eye of the British and the jealous eye of the Arab, it is evident that to think of mass immigration as a solution to the German Jewish problem is out of the question.

To be sure, we may expect a rather constant trickle of emigrants out of Germany in the next few years. It is important that the roads be kept open for them and that everything possible be done from the standpoint of training them for future vocations in the new lands of their choice, of aiding them in reaching their destination, and of their establishing themselves there. No doubt the League of Nations commission for refugees and the other organizations, Jewish and non-Jewish, devoting themselves to this relief work, can and will do a great deal toward the amelioration of the plight of these German Jews. To German Jewry, however, to the masses who have neither the wherewithal to flee nor a haven of refuge to go to, migration is not a solution today.

2. *Adjustment to Naziism*

It would appear, then, that the only alternative left to German Jewry is to remain in Germany and seek to make its peace with the present rulers of the land.

As a matter of fact, in spite of the obstructions placed in their path by the government, the great mass of German Jews are determined to adjust themselves to the new scheme of things. They refuse to be legislated out of German life. They decline to accept as final the declaration of the National Socialist state that they are no longer and never can be Germans.

Though not militaristic, the average German Jew shares with the average German Christian the hope for a great spiritual and political rebirth in the Fatherland. There is nothing in Judaism, say the Jews of Germany, that is out of harmony with the mystical, spiritual yearnings of the neo-romantic German youth who look to the idealized Middle Ages for their inspiration.

The German Jewish "Liberals," the Central Union, and the National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers have publicly protested that even in this crisis they do not want to migrate, and they refuse to become un-German. The orthodox religionists also maintain that their only possible future lies within the framework of the German state, but, unlike the more aggressive Liberals they see little hope for any improvement. They are closer to the medieval spirit of martyrdom and are more resigned.

The Zionists stand alone in their willingness to accept minority rights as a distinct racial group. Their philosophy of history encourages them to believe that there is little hope for the Jew in the Diaspora; hence, their ultimate goal is Palestine. Although they realize that the mass of the German Jews will have to remain in the country, they are convinced there is no future for them in Germany under National Socialism.

Though this Diaspora pessimism of the Zionists is deeply resented by the other Jewish groups, the Zionists have made tremendous gains in Germany since the advent of Hitler. Their newspaper, the *Jüdische Rundschau* has increased its circulation tenfold; the *Haluz* ("Pioneer") organization, which prepares young men for the crafts and for agriculture, has increased its membership from 500 to over 14,000. There are a hundred Hebrew speaking classes in Berlin. Thousands, non-Zionists as well as Zionists, would be willing to migrate to Palestine if they could only get in. But they cannot, except in relatively small numbers. Let us therefore return to a consideration of those groups in

Germany who feel that, come what may, their future lies only in the Fatherland.

WHAT READJUSTMENT INVOLVES

What is the problem which confronts them? We have already surveyed the status which the Nazis feel the Jew ought to have in their Empire. Assuming that this status will become legalized in due time and that no further restrictions will be imposed, we find the Jew, formerly a free citizen, now reduced to the position of a ward of the state with definitely limited rights. This fact alone requires a tremendous psychological adjustment on the part of every Jew. The first problem thus becomes the maintenance of morale.

In addition, we find the Jew, formerly economically free, now hemmed in by restrictions in every possible field of economic endeavor. This raises two serious problems: first, the care and rehabilitation of those who have been deprived of a means of livelihood by the Aryan Paragraph; and secondly, the preparation of the rising generation of Jews for vocations in which they may earn their living with dignity.

Another front on which the battle of German Jewry will have to be fought is the cultural front. Accustomed to devote himself to education and culture and to participate to a high degree in the development of science, art, and literature, the German Jew finds himself cut off from all future sources of stimulation. Rigidly excluded except in small numbers from all higher schools and universities, the German Jew is thus faced by the problem of maintaining his cultural and intellectual level from within.

The task of solving these problems appears almost beyond human power. Yet the masses of German Jewry are doggedly determined to survive, right in Germany. History attests the capacity of Jews for endurance against seemingly insuperable odds. Will German Jewry be able to repeat the feat of their ancestors?

* * *

In the long run, time alone will tell whether the Jew in Germany will survive. Yet, there are certain elements of strength and weakness, the analysis and weighing of which may serve to give us the basis for a sound conjecture. Furthermore, there are certain forces outside of Germany operating for the relief and support of German Jewry in their struggle for existence. It will now be our task to survey all of these elements to help us determine whether German Jewry can survive.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FUTURE OF GERMAN JEWRY: ELEMENTS OF STRENGTH

ELEMENTS OF STRENGTH

1. *A United Front*

THE urgent needs of the situation have induced all of the various state associations of Jewish communities to unite to form a permanent organization. Early in 1933 they organized the National Committee of German Jewish State Associations (*Reichsvertretung der jüdischen Landesverbände Deutschlands*). Later in the same year, in September, the outstanding personalities and group leaders of German Jewry created another organization which was even more representative. This organization, the National Committee of German Jews (*Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden*), has since taken over the work of the united associations and today dominates all German Jewish activities.

The *Reichsvertretung* has taken upon itself the broad task of maintaining Jewish morale and of carrying on all necessary negotiations with the present German government. It is also attempting to create a network of new Jewish schools all over the land. If necessary it is prepared to bring in Jewish boys and girls from the outlying rural districts and to educate them and board them in large district and town schools.

The fact that German Jewry finally sensed its need in this respect and responded with a united front is a very encouraging sign of its determination to meet the present situation with unity as well as with fortitude.

2. *Internal and External Relief Organizations*

The most important relief work in Germany today is being done by the Central Committee of the German Jews for Help and Reconstruction (*Der Zentralausschuss der deutschen Juden für Hilfe und Aufbau*). This committee was created in 1933 by the National Committee of German Jewish State Associations to coordinate all efforts of a social and economic character. It is in close touch with the Central Advisory Council for Relief and Reconstruction, an international relief organization having its chief offices in London, which we shall describe later.

The Central Committee of the German Jews for Help and Reconstruction does not itself carry on all the relief work in Germany. It is merely a clearing house for this work, cooperating with all existing institutions, especially the Central Welfare Office which we have described in Chapter XVI. It is particularly active in advising, encouraging, supplying legal aid, and, where necessary, immediate relief to those who have been ruined by the new laws.

Jewish loan associations are assuming an increasing importance under present conditions. Petty-traders and craftsmen are given money to aid them in carrying on their business, in buying tools, and the like. Efforts are also made to provide employment for the thousands now unemployed.

Those who cannot find themselves in the new Germany and those who are determined to leave are given aid in migrating. In order that these emigrants may be qualified to undertake some work in the lands to which they are going, they are given instruction in foreign languages and special training in craft-shops and farm schools. By virtue of this type of training, these organizations hope to prepare the emigrant to hew out an existence for himself in Palestine or in any other land to which he may be admitted.

On October 29, 1933, a conference of considerable importance convened in London. Eighteen different lands sent delegates to this Conference for the Relief of German Jewry to discuss ways and means of solving the problems which confront their unfortunate brethren. As a result of this conference, a Central Advisory

Council was created which is to work through an executive committee. This Council is cooperating with the High Commissioner for Refugees, appointed by the League of Nations; it will aid the German Central Committee for Help and Reconstruction with money grants, and it will undertake a program of its own. This program will concern itself primarily with the Jewish refugees who have already left Germany.

The work of this international Jewish Council is predicated upon the opinion that the German Jews will require systematic aid over a period of many years. It believes that as time goes on there will be a progressive loss of economic opportunity in Germany, that the German Jews will in time exhaust their own resources, and that a continual stream of refugees will pour forth from that unfortunate land. The Council has therefore assumed the function of giving financial advice to those refugees who have some means, and of creating loan funds for those who desire to engage in petty-trade and hawking.

More important, however, it aims to bring about the occupational retraining of the refugees by making manual workers and farmers out of business men and professionals. German orphans and other children, if possible, are to be brought to lands of greater opportunity. Academicians are to be aided in finding laboratories and schools in which they may continue their teaching and their research.

There is a great deal of intricate labor involved in moving refugees from one land to another and finding economic opportunities for them. This work will, in large part, be coordinated through a special committee created by the Advisory Council, called the Anglo-Hicem. This committee is already at work.

The other aspects of the program of the Central Advisory Council have not yet been carried out. It has not yet been determined to what extent the Advisory Council will control the funds for German relief collected by the Jews of the various lands. The importance of maintaining an international organization such as the Central Advisory Council cannot be overestimated if systematic relief work abroad on a large scale is to be carried on. It would indeed be unfortunate if all the aspects of its program were not implemented. It would be tragic if world Jewry had to continue to handle this problem through a variety of agencies instead of through one unified, centralized organization like this Council. Nevertheless, whatever may be the ultimate form of organization, the help of Jews in all other parts of the world provides an element of considerable strength in the present German Jewish situation.

3. *Efforts Toward Vocational Readjustment*

Many of the Jewish leaders in Germany believe that anti-Semitism is largely economic in its motivation. The Christian masses, in their opinion, resent the fact that the Jews are concentrated in the more lucrative businesses and the professions; that the masses of Jews are not "productive," too many being employers and too few employees. What is needed, they feel, is a new occupational and social pattern for German Jewry, a pattern that will not depart as radically as the old one did from the occupational distribution that characterizes the great masses of Christian Germans. There must be a shift, they maintain, from business and the professions into industry, labor, crafts, and agriculture. These Jewish leaders are convinced that if this shift is made successfully, the edge will be taken off of anti-Semitism and a sure future will be provided for the Jews in their German Fatherland.

There has arisen, thus, a great movement for vocational retraining of German Jewry, motivated not only by the philosophy just presented, but also by the necessity of retraining Jews who *must* make a shift whether they like it or not because they have been thrown out of their old fields of work. The need of preparing prospective emigrants for a livelihood in their new lands is another potent element in this movement. Necessity and principle are thus unanimous in furthering the work.

To effect this change properly there has been established a series of shops for training artisans, mechanics, carpenters, marine machinists, and tailors. A large number of farms are providing instruction in gardening. The men are being taught also to be chauffeurs, house painters, locksmiths, electricians, and shoemakers. The women are being taught tailoring and millinery work or are being trained as cooks and domestic servants.

In addition to the efforts of the larger organizations in this direction there are special institutions like *Hehaluz* and the Land and Crafts (*Land und Handwerk*) which devote themselves specifically to the task. The former does practically all of the rehabilitation work among those who are bound for Palestine, while the latter carries on the work among those who have no desire to leave the Fatherland.

It must not be imagined, however, that the agencies trying to retrain the Jews vocationally are enjoying smooth sailing. Protests have already been heard all over the country against the attempt of the Jew to enter the crafts. An East Prussian handworkers' association advises its members against training Jewish apprentices on the grounds that they may decide not to emigrate and remain in Germany to compete with Aryan workers. It is already known that non-Aryans will not be admitted into the German Labor Front, the National Socialist workmen's organization. This is not merely a social disability, but it is an economic disability unless the state should create legislation placing Jewish workmen on the same footing with non-Jews. Furthermore, handwork seldom provides more than a bare pittance, especially in a highly developed industrial state like Germany where machines are constantly displacing men from the more highly skilled crafts.

The movement for a return to agriculture is also beset by great difficulties. While there is, as yet, no prohibition against Jews owning and cultivating land in Germany, there is considerable "Aryan" sentiment against it. The "German soil" is holy to the

National Socialists who venerate it in an almost pagan spirit. They will not willingly tolerate the return of the Jew to mother earth. There is also another difficulty: present legislation provides preferential treatment for Aryan farmers. The Heritable Homestead Act, which the state has enacted for the benefit of the farmers, can be applied only to Aryans who can prove their pure ancestry at least as far back as 1800.

At best farming can provide but a bare living. Unless supported by the state, the German farmer today cannot hope to compete with such large grain producers as Russia, Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the United States where there are enormous farms and the most modern machinery for mass production. It is a foregone conclusion that subsidies and governmental aid for agriculture will not be accorded to Jews.

After an absence of almost two thousand years from the farm it will require a herculean effort on the part of the city-bred Jew to go back to the plough. Unless Jews settle in colonies they will have no social or cultural life and will be exposed to the known hostility of the peasants. They would far rather remain in the urban centers. There are certain advantages which the craftsman and the factory worker possess over the farm laborer; the social and cultural opportunities of the large city where the craftsman operates are obviously greater than on the farm.

From the present indications, it would appear that the majority of those who are making a vocational shift will ultimately drift into the urban industries and into petty-trades.

The movement to return the Jew to the soil was fathered by the National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers. They created the National Association for Jewish Farm Settlements in Germany which made propaganda for a return to the farm. They also incorporated Jewish Farm Work, a society for the purchase of land and the settlement of Jews. However, they have not been very successful thus far. Prior to their activity, in 1925, less than two per cent (1.91) of all Jews who were gainfully employed were in agriculture, while among the non-Jews the percentage was about 30 per cent. There have never been more than 5,000 Jews in agriculture; the exact figure is 4,974, which includes all Jews dependent for a living on forestry as well as agriculture.

One of the greatest difficulties in these matters of vocational migration and relief is the lack of funds with which to train people or to tide them over with loans and gifts. In Cologne, for instance, the Jewish Community budget fell 50 per cent in 1933 while the need for relief continued to rise; every fifth Jew was helped by the social agencies. In Berlin, the budget had to be cut 40 per cent in the face of increasing demands for help. In Chemnitz, Saxony, where the Nazis have been very active, the entire budget is carried by 20 per cent of the community. In Liegnitz, Silesia, 680 out of 1,000 members remain but only 160 pay taxes to the *Gemeinde*. To secure money for their emergency welfare agencies the Jewish Communities have had to make special appeals for the support of the Central Committee for Help and Reconstruction. The government, however, does not look with favor upon specifically Jewish money-raising campaigns. The major burden of the expense, therefore, is carried by self-imposed *Gemeinde* taxation which has been increased in spite of the growing poverty of the Jews. In Berlin, the Jewish community raised the communal tax to 20% of the federal income tax (1933). In 1931, it was only 11 per cent. In some towns, Jews pay a *Gemeinde* tax equal to 100 per cent of the federal income tax. This is a tremendous drain on the resources of the group.

Despite all of these obstacles and difficulties the work of economic rehabilitation is proceeding vigorously in the hope that the future will hold some measure of opportunity in store for German Jewry. They cannot look forward to the economic status which they once enjoyed. They shall have to content themselves with the bare necessities of a livelihood. But if even this can be assured through the efforts of these organizations, German Jewry will be safe physically.

4. The Reorganization of Education Among German Jews

A prominent social worker summed up the problems of present day Jewry in Germany in the three words: bread, work, knowledge. We have already considered the efforts of organizations within and without Germany to supply the first two of this triad of great needs. Let us now consider the third.

Jewish children are allowed to go to the German elementary schools, but it is inadvisable for them to do so. The National Socialist schools are built on the foundations of Christianity and National Socialism. In the old German republic, religion was divorced from the state; in the new Empire, religion becomes a means of insuring the loyalty of the masses. Although the Christian religious instruction, which is now mandatory for all Christian pupils, is not to be imposed on Jews, nevertheless a less tolerant attitude will now manifest itself in the new school system.

What is even more disquieting is that the new curriculum, even in the most elementary classes, emphasizes racial science: the racial superiority of the Nordics and the consequent inferiority of the "Jewish race." There will be courses in military science and other disciplines not altogether sympathetic to the average Jew. The new textbooks point with contempt to the Republic, condemning it as a manifestation of Jewish intrigue.

The number of Jews allowed in the higher schools has been set at 1.5 per cent of the total student body, and this number may be even further limited at the discretion of the authorities. In both the elementary and the secondary schools, Jewish pupils are exposed to social discrimination if not to attacks by their fellow students. No Jew can go to a Nordicized school without developing an inferiority complex or a belligerent superiority attitude. True character cannot easily be nurtured in such surroundings. Psychic warping is sure to follow; family life will be disrupted; the growing youth will learn to curse the parents and people who gave him his Jewish heritage.

We see, then, that the need for the third element of the triad—bread, work, and knowledge—is perhaps even greater than for the other two. There can be no future for German Jewry without an adequate *Jewish* school system. Jewish schools must do more than merely educate. They must impart Jewish knowledge, make affirmative, positive Jews out of indifferentists, and prepare them for their difficult and exposed position in the new Empire. The new parochial school will be different in its motivation from the Jewish school of pre-Hitler days. The older school was created to save Jews from the seductive appeal of modern culture. The new schools are to save Jews from demoralization, arm them spiritually, and prepare them to bear with pride their humble position in the social and economic life of the new state. If additional secondary Jewish schools are authorized by the Third Reich, and it seems from present indications that they will not be, they will provide a fairly adequate education for all Jews who seek it and are fit for it.

The proposed new Jewish schools are to be "unity schools" (*Einheitsschulen*). They will seek to unite all Jewish groups on a common Jewish background; they will refuse to defer to the particularistic aims of Zionists or anti-Zionists, orthodox or liberals. The orthodox are coming in with trepidation; they are most fearful of exposing their children to heterodox ideas.

The teachers are to be as well qualified in Jewish studies as in secular studies; the academic standards of the schools are to be in no wise inferior to the standards set up by the State.

The curriculum is to be permeated with the Hebraic spirit. Hebrew will be taught as a living, vital, spoken language. There will be courses in general Jewish history and religion; German Jewish history will also be emphasized. Music, drawing, and *Heimatkunde* will also be cultivated.

It is interesting to note that considerable experimental work is now being done by Jewish educators in this country in *Heimatkunde* or, as they call it, "demography." In Germany, under this rubric they include a study of the history of the community and its outstanding personalities as well as a study of its social, economic, political, and religious institutions. They intend to understand the services of the synagogue and the customs and folklore of the holidays and of the home. The modern, historical romanticism is thus finding its reflection in Jewish life too. There can surely be no objection to this.

The new era manifests itself not only in the emphasis placed upon things Jewish but also in the work done in manual training and in the time devoted to sports and athletics. Germany, today, is a land under athletic and military drill.

The problem of the child's schooling is a most vital one. To aid those parents who seek guidance in matters pertaining to the education of their young, a new organization has been created. This is the Parents' Aid for the Jewish Youth (*Das Elternhilfswerk für die jüdische Jugend*). It has become an important society. Equally important is the Central Bureau for Jewish Adult Education (*Mittelstelle für jüdische Erwachsenenbildung*) which seeks to give the older generation a Jewish point of view.

If the new educational reorganization receives the support which it deserves and grows to the point where it can succeed in making good the cultural deficiencies created by the closing of the general schools to Jews, it will have made a tremendous contribution to the spiritual survival of the Jew.

5. *New Jewish Cultural Institutions*

The belligerent attitude of the Third Reich toward Jews and the intolerance of the uniformed Storm and *Élite* Troops have tended to keep Jews away from public institutions of culture and amusement. The effect of this has been very depressing. As a result, Jews have set about to establish their own institutions to give them the artistic and literary inspiration they require. In this fashion the morale of the older generation will receive the stiffening which it needs and the young generation will not grow up in ignorance of things cultural. German Jewry realizes that whatever stimulation it is to enjoy in this direction in the future will have to come entirely from within.

An interesting organization of this type is the Cultural League of German Jews (*Kulturbund deutscher Juden*), membership in which is open only to Jews or their non-Aryan wives. It was created to give Jews the finest and best in music, art, and literature. It produces plays (in German only), gives concerts, and sponsors lectures on interesting subjects. Wherever it finds exceptional Jewish talent, it offers encouragement toward its development. The association is conducted as a guild which charges its members two and one-half marks a month, for which they receive a stage production, a concert, and a lecture each month. Incidentally, non-Jewish critics are, as a rule, forbidden by order of the state to view their performances.

There has also been organized a Jewish Book Union which proposes to publish books of Jewish interest every two months. The Free Jewish People's University, an organization that once delivered popular lectures on Jewish religious, historical, and ethical themes, now gives instruction in modern languages as well as in typewriting and bookkeeping. Other organizations are encouraging the arts and sciences. Some communities—independent of the *Kulturbund*—are sponsoring exhibitions of the paintings of Jewish artists and staging concerts primarily for the sake of aiding needy painters and musicians.

Jewish cultural life is embracing new disciplines and is no longer coterminous with religious education, synagogal service, and philanthropy. The German Jew today lives almost completely in a world of his own with his own theaters, concerts, literary life, and youth and sport clubs. The "German" oriented majority of German Jews may not realize it but they practice, if they do not enjoy, a type of cultural autonomy almost as rigid and distinct as that practiced by any Jewish group in Poland or Palestine today.

While this segregation from the German cultural trends and institutions may not be a desirable thing, it must be remembered that it is not of the Jew's choosing. The Jew has always been interested in culture. While he was permitted to participate in that of his neighbor, he did so with zest and with credit to himself and to Germany. Now that he is excluded, he will devote his talents to the same fields within the more limited circle of the Jewish group. There is no doubt that this refusal to be crushed culturally represents a strong argument in favor of the prospect of Jewish survival in Germany.

6. *The Jewish Youth Movement*

The striking changes of 1933 have, of course, left their mark upon the Jewish Youth Movement in Germany. The few Jews who were in the non-denominational associations have now been compelled to seek affiliation with Jews. Among the youth organizations in existence prior to the rise of Hitler, a number of changes and realignments have naturally taken place.

The need for a common front has encouraged all German Jewish youth clubs to rally more than ever round the National Commission of Jewish Youth Societies. Within this group, however, there are now but two main types of organizations, those who are "German" in their philosophy and tendencies and those who are Zionistic.

The various "German" Jewish groups have rallied around the new Association of German Jewish Youth (*Bund deutsch-jüdischer Jugend*) which was called into being in December, 1933. They then numbered about 6,000 members and could boast of branches in fifty different cities. Their athletic work was entrusted to the National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers. Their philosophy is "German" in the sense that they feel themselves to belong to and in Germany and believe that their destiny lies in Germany and nowhere else despite all of the events and tendencies of the National Socialist regime.

On the other hand the important neutral Union of Jewish Youth Clubs and the Jewish Pathfinders Association have thrown in their lot with the Zionists and have put their athletic work and training into the hands of the Zionistic Maccabees. Even the orthodox youth in the Ezra have split along this line; some have "gone Palestinian" and, together with other orthodox Zionists, *Mizrahi* and the like, have created a Torah and Labor movement that looks to the Holy Land for guidance.

While there is considerable bitterness between these two main groups because of the sharp differences in their philosophy of Jewish life, separately they are doing effective work in building up the morale as well as the physique of the German Jewish youth. Whether the youth ultimately remains in Germany or goes to Palestine, it will be by far the better for having belonged to these organizations.

7. *Jewish Sports in the Third Empire*

Youth in its lighter moments forgets in sports the gloomy problems of the future. The thousands who were once in the non-political and non-religious clubs have either been forced out or made uncomfortable. A great many have joined the various sport groups associated with the patriotic National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers. As a result this organization now has about ninety clubs with about 9,000 active members. Since Jews are not encouraged to compete in athletics with non-Jews, the various Jewish clubs prefer to play one another.

An organization even larger than the veterans' societies is that of the Zionistic Maccabees which now has over 10,000 members. Both of these organizations have been legalized by the new Empire.

The elimination of the Jews from the non-Jewish athletic societies and the national policy of "racial" segregation mean that they now have no adequate facilities in which to continue their training; the Jewish gymnasiums and tracks are utterly inadequate. Nevertheless, however limited their facilities, the organizations are carrying on their work with surprising effectiveness and are undoubtedly contributing their share toward assuring the survival of the Jews in Germany.

While on the subject of sports, it is interesting to note that even the famous fencer, Helene Mayer, a half-Jewess, was expelled from her local club. It is said she will nevertheless represent Germany at the 1936 Olympiad in Berlin. Another Jew, Franz Orgler of the *Hakoah* club of Cologne, is also being prepared for the Olympic games. He is one of the fastest track men in Germany. It is questionable whether other Jews will be permitted to train for or to represent Germany at the Olympiad. It is not improbable that these two Jewish athletes are tolerated merely as a blind, to convince the skeptical Americans that German Jews are given every opportunity to compete in the coming Olympic contests.

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These are the factors working toward a toughening of the fibre of Jewish resistance and survival. But what of the internal, Jewish quarrels? What of the decline in the Jewish population and the shattering of the very foundation of the economic life of the Gemeinde? *What of the closing of the avenues to academic advancement? What of the growing social contempt and racial hatred? Can the German Jew really survive?*

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FUTURE OF GERMAN JEWRY: ELEMENTS OF WEAKNESS

ELEMENTS OF WEAKNESS

LEST our account of the elements of strength which are present in the structure of German Jewry today convey too sanguine an impression of the prospects of survival, it is well to consider now the elements of weakness in the German Jewish situation.

One of the greatest difficulties which confront German Jewry today is the wide divergence of opinion which exists between the Zionists and the non-Zionists. While to all outward appearances Jewry presents a united front and carries on its relief and rehabilitation work through centralized and unified agencies, beneath the surface a constant struggle is going on.

On its political side the struggle has resolved itself into a fight for the control of the Jewish communities. The Zionists, now out of power and believing that the masses are really behind them, are making a vigorous effort to change the concept of the Jewish group from a *religious* community to a *social* community, emphasizing the preeminence of the Jewish people rather than the Jewish religion. The Zionists, whether it be in the youth societies or even in the National Committee of German Jews, look forward to Palestine as the real solution to the German Jewish debacle.

They have made heavy inroads into the ranks of their opponents. Modern Hebrew is taught in every community in Germany as the language of Palestine which, next to France, has admitted the largest number of German refugees. The study of Hebrew has not only this practical value; it also opens the way to a study of Jewish literary sources, intensifies the Jewish consciousness, and leads men back to Zion spiritually and physically. Zionism helps the youth who dreamt of a career to reconcile himself to the pick and shovel, for it associates his labor with a positive ideal of creation.

It would be a serious error to assume that the Jews who are antipathetic to Zionism are less intense in their Jewish sympathies because they are determined to carve out a future for themselves on German soil. We should not lose sight of the fact that by far the greater proportion of German Jews who have any synagogue affiliation are either orthodox or conservative and are hence in close touch with Jewish folk-ways and customs.

This group, looking to Germany for its future, preaches a warm, intense Judaism to its followers and teaches them Hebrew, but it insists on being part and parcel of German life. It wants no ghetto and refuses to accept, spiritually, the status of an un-Germanic, cultural group. It is encouraging its followers to face their changed life philosophically and courageously. It has already begun a new fight for emancipation, for the second emancipation.

The road to freedom, this group believes, lies along the humble path of identification with the standard German vocational pattern: labor in the shops, factories, and farms. National Socialistic ideology has not left them untouched either: they talk of obedience to their leaders, of discipline, of common purpose, of the primacy of the group. Its youth realizes that Germany is a land of young leaders and they seek more opportunity to express themselves in the councils of their elders.

In the early nineteenth century, in the first struggle for freedom, the ghetto Jew fought for recognition as a *German;* now he is fighting for recognition as a *Jew and a German.* Once they are recognized and re-emancipated as Jews *and* Germans the members of this group feel they will never again be disfranchised because they are *also* Jews. The principle seems sound.

The Zionists and anti-Zionists have not made peace because neither of them is willing to compromise. Yet, at the same time, it would seem that some working arrangement might be effected wherein the Zionist group, without sacrificing one iota of its principles, could undertake all rehabilitation work for those who regard conditions in Germany as insufferable and look forward to a satisfactory adjustment only in Palestine, while the "German" group could care for the remainder, those who have no desire to leave Germany and are willing, if not eager, to work out their destiny in their Fatherland despite the National Socialists and all of their efforts to prevent it.

While such a cleavage might be regarded by some as regrettable from the standpoint of Jewish unity, it is, nevertheless, undeniable that the elimination of friction and competition by permitting each group to function in its own separate field concurrently would represent a distinct advantage. As a matter of fact, there are indications that this division of labor has been agreed upon by the two groups.

Despite their mutual distrust, the anti-Zionistic Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith and the Zionists manage to work together in some semblance of harmony. In this attempt they are supported by the great body of religious Liberals and the Community Orthodox. The Secessionist Orthodox of the Samson Raphael Hirsch type are rather reluctant to lend their support, believing that their religious interests are not being safeguarded in a manner satisfactory to them. The National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers is more militant, however, and threatens to bolt the National Committee if the "un-German" Zionists are not suppressed. The Zionists have retaliated by withdrawing all their veterans from the association of legionaries. The Front-Line Soldiers are supported in their views by the rather unimportant but symptomatic Revival Movement of Jewish Germans.

Far over to the right stands the even more patriotic Society of National German Jews (Naumann) which would like to be National Socialistic and is so embittered against the Zionists and many other groups of Jews that it is almost anti-Semitic. It has

"Jewish" Storm Troopers at its meetings. Needless to say it stands altogether outside the periphery of organized Jewish life.

Another and more serious element of weakness in the situation of German Jewry is the continuing decline in its population. We have already noted, in Chapter XIX, how grave the situation was even under the Republic. Until 1933, this decline of population had in part been offset by immigration from other lands, mostly from East Europe. Another important factor in the situation is that the number of persons between the ages of 50 and 60 years was, in 1933, greater than the number who are under 10 years of age.

Under the present conditions we may expect first, that the deficit of births to deaths will mount, for it is the young, healthy, marriageable men and women who constitute the main body of the emigrant class, leaving the children and the older folks behind; secondly, there will be no immigration to help make good the deficit, and thirdly, there will be a rather constant though, perhaps, diminishing stream of emigration from Germany to other lands.

Starting with approximately 560,000 Jews in 1933, we may set the figure of *émigrés* by the summer of 1934 at about 70,000, leaving about 490,000. If we set 5,000, a modest total, as the extent of further emigration per annum and 3,000 (Theilhaber and Kahn, German authorities, say it ought to be 6,300 to 7,000) as the loss through the low birth rate and high death rate, we see that a total loss of population of at least 8,000 per annum may be anticipated. At this rate every six years a shrinkage of about 10 per cent of the total Jewish population will have occurred. How soon a point of balance will be reached it is impossible to say. Neither is it possible to foretell what new circumstances may arise in the German situation in the near future. Nevertheless, the possibility of a radical, numerical decline through emigration and biological factors must be considered.

One might think that there would be accretions to the Jewish community from among Jewish freethinkers and Christians of Jewish origin who are, of course, classed as Jews, non-Aryans. Thus far, however, very few of these have returned. If they or their children marry, they will have to marry either among themselves or with Jews, and some may thus be led back into the organized community. The Christian Jews, either converts or their descendants, have no interest in things Jewish. Unlike the old Marranos or New Christians of Spain and Portugal, they practice no Jewish ceremonies and are completely out of touch with Judaism. It is not likely, therefore, that there will be many accretions from this source. We can, on the other hand, of course, reckon that there will be no further losses to Judaism through intermarriage which is now frowned upon by the state, or through conversion which is now an utterly futile gesture.

Still a third serious element of weakness lies in the fact that the declining, economic status of German Jewry has seriously affected the internal finances of the *Gemeinde*. Whether the group of Jews who remain in Germany, at least half of whom are in a desperate plight, will be able to maintain a large number of hospitals, schools, libraries, and magnificent synagogues is doubtful. No doubt, foreign Jewries will help liberally with funds, but if German Jewish institutional life is to be really safe for the future, the bulk of its support must come more or less autonomously from within. It seems inevitable, therefore, that the next few years will witness considerable retrenchment with the closing of many institutions and the retention of only those most needed. A great deal will depend upon whether or not such retrenchment can be halted before agencies vital to the survival of German Jewry are hit. The responsibility of world Jewry in the task of tiding German Jewry over its period of crisis during the next few years cannot be minimized.

From a cultural standpoint the German situation presents several serious problems. That German Jewry will maintain its high cultural standards in the years to come is improbable. The higher schools are closed except to a few, and Jewry has no liberal arts college of its own. Hundreds of capable, professional men, some of them of international repute, have accepted calls to the universities and colleges of different lands. Today they are already found as far east as China and as far west as the United States. The departure of these men is of no great import to Germany; she will survive the elimination of a few hundred scholars of Jewish origin. To German Jewry, however, their departure is calamitous; they were the *élite.*

German Jewish scholarship in the form of the Science of Judaism has also become a victim of the new system The rabbinical colleges are struggling to maintain themselves. Some of the most eminent of their faculty have already been called to chairs in other schools in foreign lands; those who remain do so out of a sense of loyalty to their own group.

Students from Eastern Europe who formerly brought to Germany their rich knowledge of Hebraic lore will now remain at home or seek more friendly shores. Jewish scholarship was distinguished in Germany because of its close association with the universities which provided academic background and methods of scientific research. Now, few Jews can find any intellectual stimulus in universities whose goal is preparation for citizenship in the narrow National Socialistic state rather than in the wide republic of letters.

Finally, the social level to which Jewry has sunk in Nazi society presents a most serious psychological hazard. No racial group ranks as low as the Jews; even Eastern Asiatics are specifically excluded from the non-Aryan laws that apply only to Jews and Negroes. A court decision in Passau has taken official cognizance of this status by ruling that to call a citizen a Jew is a "grievous insult" meriting severe punishment. The prohibition of intermarriage, though it has not yet received formal legal sanction, in practice sets up insuperable barriers between Jew and Aryan.

The *Hakenkreuz Banner* of Mannheim, Hesse (September 9, 1933), carried the names of a number of Christian girls who were accused of having walked with Jews. This newspaper suggests that such girls be asked to go to Palestine or submit to sterilization. This absurd suggestion of an obscure journal is significant only in that it reflects the extreme social contempt which National Socialists bear toward Jews.

There is great danger that the general effect upon the individual Jew of this decline in status will be most unhealthy. Many individuals, certainly, will rouse themselves and put forth their greatest efforts to convince the state of their value as citizens. Their character will probably be hardened and steeled by their misfortunes. But it is just as likely that thousands may lose their morale and be crushed spiritually. Many will perhaps make a desperate effort to hide their Jewish origin. Others may become unduly sensitive. Many are apt to become embittered and to manifest hostility to the state that has destroyed them by becoming revolutionaries and conspirators. In any case, it is futile to deny that the conditions under which the Jews are forced to exist in Nazi Germany provide fertile soil for the distortion of personality and for the disturbance of the delicate psychical balance of the human mind.

It is a very hopeful sign that the morale of the masses is still sound. Many find it hard to realize that the age of liberalism, constitutional government, and religious and political freedom is past, and they still hope for better conditions.

Whether the passage of time without visible improvement in the Jewish status will destroy this morale remains to be seen. The support of world Jewry and the encouragement which non-Jewish protagonism of their cause yields, will undoubtedly prove to be important factors in steeling the Jews to endure their status without loss of their inner dignity and self-respect.

These are the elements of weakness in the picture of German Jewry.

WILL GERMAN JEWRY SURVIVE?

Only recently (1934), Max Liebermann was asked if he did not believe that German Jewry had a future, if he did not think that the courageous activity of the older and newer Jewish organizations was a symptom that augured well for the future. The artist's ironic answer was typical: "German Jewry is like a man who is mortally wounded—and in addition, has a cold. So he calls the doctor in to stop his snuffling."

Liebermann's bitter skepticism is hardly justified. German Jewry has the will to survive. It is exerting every effort possible to human beings to maintain its vitality in the face of overwhelming odds. World Jewry is united as never before, if not as to the methods, certainly as to the urgent necessity of bringing every resource, financial, political, and moral, to the aid of its stricken brethren. The lesson of Jewish history lends us further assurance that, barring wholesale expulsion or massacre, which seem rather remote even under the implacable hatred of the National Socialists, what has been called the "Jewish genius for survival" will manifest itself in Germany.

To be sure, there are problems and difficulties which, taken separately, seem well nigh insurmountable. But taken in the aggregate, and balanced against the elements of strength, it does not seem that their weight can be sufficient to turn the scales against survival.

However, one cannot hide this fact: a most distinguished Jewish group has been brutally crippled by the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

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Is the influence of the National Socialist Party confined to Germany? Has this renascence of German anti-Semitism had any effect on the status of the Jew in other European lands? Is it at all possible that German anti-Semitism can affect the life of the Jew in the United States?

CHAPTER XXIV

HITLERISM AND WORLD JEWRY

PROPAGANDA ABROAD IS INDISPENSABLE FOR ENCIRCLED GERMANY

THE movement which Adolf Hitler has created and directed is not limited in its scope to Germany alone. Its leader and his followers are determined to make its influence felt in all lands. Adolf Hitler has set out to create a National Socialist "International." The purposes that motivate this attempt to make National Socialism a world wide movement are in part idealistic and in part expedient.

The National Socialists believe in their ideals and party principles and are seeking a hearing for them. They believe that theirs is a gospel of spiritual and political rebirth that the world can well use. They feel themselves to be crusaders; their nationalism has become a religious force in their lives. They are eager that all governments pattern themselves after the new Germany.

Political and economic conditions, as a matter of fact, make it imperative that Germany secure friends in the concert of nations. Today, she is practically isolated, morally and politically. Even Italy views her with open suspicion, distrusting her advance south into Austria in the direction of Italy. Germany, today, is almost surrounded by vigilant or openly hostile states like France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Denmark. If this *cordon sanitaire* remains about Germany, it will make her future political development difficult. Germany needs moral and financial aid and international sympathies. She requires expanding markets for she is a great industrial and exporting nation.

She is eager to secure powerful states to support her in her policy of East European penetration. She believes herself to be hemmed in geographically and economically. Germany has little hope of a new colonial empire; she dare not expand westward toward France. The Third Empire is hopeful, however, of some day incorporating the Germanic areas of Czechoslovakia, Austria, the Baltic lands, and, if possible, the rich Ukraine into a great Hitlerite state. Under the romantic influence of the memory of the successful medieval colonization of Slavonic lands, she seeks more elbow room in the Slavonic East.

Germany also pleads for a common front of the Western powers against their common danger, Bolshevism, and is at the same time not unmindful of the desirability of Russian territory. The new Germany has an urge to power, to conquest, to glory. Once she was a great Empire. Now she again seeks a place in the sun and wants recognition as a force to be reckoned with. The technique she must necessarily adopt, if her ideals and political goals are ever to be realized, is propaganda.

A special Ministry for National Enlightenment and Propaganda has been created by Dr. Goebbels, an unusually able and brilliant man. Behind him are mustered all the resources of a large and highly organized state. The ramifications of this propaganda are as widespread as the consular service of the German government itself The entire state and diplomatic apparatus has been enlisted in the service of this ministry of the gospel of National Socialism.

The application of this technique is not limited to the Fatherland; its aim is to enlighten more than the Germans in Germany. A variety of forces are employed for the spread of Hitlerite teachings beyond the immediate borders of the German Empire. In some lands, able publicity men have been retained to present the German case in the most favorable light.

In all lands where there is a German settlement, thousands of devoted Germans have voluntarily become instruments for Hitlerite propaganda, working primarily among those German immigrants who have not yet become partisans of the new government in the home country. The attempt is being made throughout the German Diaspora to unite all German societies under a leader appointed by the home office of the National Socialist Party. It is the function of this leader to make these coordinated clubs a facile and submissive instrument in the political and economic service of the Fatherland. It was estimated (1933) that there were 230 key propaganda centers outside of Germany.

German National Socialist students studying abroad are expected to keep in constant touch with Dr. Johann von Leers, who is apparently the head of the propaganda service insofar as it relates to German students abroad. "The purpose of this measure is to enable these German students to inform their foreign fellow students about German conditions and to instruct them in spreading information." (*Völkischer Beobachter,* August 19, 1933.) A special effort, apparently successful in many instances, has been made to influence visiting students and instructors in Germany. It is interesting to note that some of the American instructors who have gone abroad on (non-Aryan) Guggenheim Memorial Foundation fellowships have come back impressed with the new spiritual values which Hitler has evoked in present day Germany.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST ENLIGHTENMENT IN FOREIGN LANDS

National Socialism is essentially a gospel; it is missionary in character, expansive by nature. Its teachings today have influenced thousands in a dozen lands. In some states it has directly evoked the creation of a National Socialist movement; in others it has merely encouraged latent reactionary and anti-Semitic tendencies. Its central bureaus in Munich and Berlin supply sympathy, advice, and guidance—if not actual funds—to anti-Semitic movements the world over. It is fortunate for the Jew that thus far all these fascistic or anti-Semitic parties have been of small compass and of relatively little importance in the political life of the lands in which they have been organized. Their influence should not be overestimated.

An external characteristic of nearly all these movements is their use of a colored shirt which forms a striking part of their uniform. The most popular colors are black, brown, blue, green, and white. Red, the color of the Marxians, is studiously avoided. The National Socialist German Workers' Party operated in Czechoslovakia and Austria under direct control from the Munich headquarters until the party was declared illegal by these governments. Now, the brown-shirts in Czechoslovakia have been succeeded by black-shirted fascistic anti-Semites. The situation in Austria is particularly explosive. There is a life and death struggle for power in that land between the reactionary *Heimwehr* (Homeguard) and the National Socialist Party of Germany. It really makes very little difference who wins; even if the victory goes to the anti-Semitic *Heimwehr,* the Austrian fascist group, it will carry with it the attempt to disable the Jew economically and politically. The extremes to which this discrimination may extend will be limited only by the vigor of Jewish protests and the intervention of the League of Nations, which is specifically committed to the protection of all minorities in the Austrian state.

The tendency of the Hitlerites to win the allegiance of all Germans residing in foreign countries is evident from the efforts they have made to secure power through their partisans not only in Czechoslovakia and Austria but also in the Scandinavian and Baltic lands where there are Nordic, Germanic peoples.

The Nazis are influential in southern Denmark which was known as North Schleswig when it was joined to Germany. In Norway there is a fascist party called the National Union; in Sweden there are at least two small Nazi groups, and some anti-Semitism exists. This anti-Semitism is probably motivated by religious ties as well as economic sentiment; because of the union of the state with the dominant Lutheran church no Jew may even sit in the Council of State. It is hard to imagine economic envy as a source of anti-Semitism in a land of over six million which has only 6,500 Jews, but, as we have seen, a paucity of Jews is no guarantee against anti-Jewish feeling. For instance, there are only

1,800 Jews among the 3,667,000 Finns, but still there is a lusty anti-Semitic movement in Finland. Furugaard, one of the Nazi leaders in Sweden, declared that Prime Minister Goering of Prussia had promised him financial support if, when in power, he would make some of the northern provinces of Sweden available for German colonization. This offer, if true, would seem to lend credence to the rumor that Germany is attempting to create a federation of Nordic states "from the Alps to Upsala" under German hegemony. If she is attempting to do this she is certainly meeting resistance in the very lands which she might have expected to be sympathetic to the theory of Nordic racial superiority.

In Switzerland, with its conglomerate of Italians, French, and Germans, the Nazi problem is complicated. "Another cause [of their difficulties in Switzerland]," says Emil Lengyel, "is the impossibility of knowing which race one ought to single out for hating in a tri-racial country like Switzerland." (*The New York Times,* January 7, 1934.) The Belgian Nazis, Flemings, who speak a German dialect, are opposed not only to Marxians and Jews but also to the French speaking Walloons. Across the Baltic from Germany, in Finland, there is an instructive, racial problem. The Finns here are linguistically allied to the Mongolians, and the fascist party recruited from them has directed the shaft of its hatred not only against the Jews, whom they exclude from membership, but also against the racially inferior Nordic Swedes who form a minority in their land. It does not seem impossible that within the next few years the tolerant Chinese, who are eager to build up a national state, may soon begin to preach a gospel of hatred against the racially inferior Aryan minority who now play so large a part in Chinese economic life.

The Free City of Danzig, controlled by the Nazis, has not openly attacked the Jews. Germany has no desire to engage in combat with the League of Nations which supervises that city through a High Commissioner. The Nazis have been very active in the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and also Lithuania; it would seem that they hope some day to absorb these countries. Anti-Semitism is rife in all these lands, particularly among the Germans. It is this area that has produced the German Balt, Alfred Rosenberg, editor of the semi-official *Völkischer Beobachter* and Nazi party expert for foreign affairs. Rosenberg, a rabid anti-Semite, no doubt schooled in his hatreds by czaristic Russia, is one of the great protagonists of the German drive to the East.

It is most natural to expect that National Socialism should make converts among the dissatisfied Germanic colonists who have been detached from old Austria and now live in the new Roumania. Roumania has, in addition, a deep-rooted anti-Semitism of its own and, like old Russia, was noted for its Jew-baiting. Today, there are several groups of anti-Semites in that land, the most vigorous and brutal of which is the Iron Guard, an organization that derives a great deal of its support from the university student bodies.

It was a member of this society, Radu Constantinescu, who, on December 29, 1933, assassinated the "Liberal" Roumanian Prime Minister, Ion G. Duca. Among the reasons advanced by the assassin in self-justification for his act were that Duca was a friend of the Jews and a Free Mason. It is obvious from this statement that Constantinescu was inspired to his deed by the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* which assert that the international conspiracy of the Jews against the world operates through the Masonic movement. Zelea Codreanu, the leader of the Iron Guard, was reported to be under German influence.

The German interest in Roumania is prompted by the desire not only to gain converts to its fascistic philosophy but also to strike at the French whose influence up till now has been paramount in Roumania. The defeat of the Gallophile Liberty Party or the break-up of the Little Entente, of which Roumania is a member, would be a great step forward in German power and prestige in Europe. It is by no means improbable that the anti-

Semitic organizations will some day have control of the Roumanian government. If this occurs, it may be expected that the Roumanians, not as disciplined as the German Nazis, will be tempted to inaugurate their reign by a series of general massacres of the Jewish people.

There are fascistic parties and organizations in Bulgaria, France, Greece, Hungary, Holland, Portugal, and England. The Hungarian fascists, mostly university students, are anti-Semitic, as are some of the Bulgarian student associations. The Greek "E.E.E." party and some of the Dutch Nazis are strongly chauvinistic and anti-Semitic. Some of the English fascist leaders are in close touch with Hitlerite Germany. Sir Oswald Mosley's Black Shirts, who had once received some encouragement in Lord Rothermere's newspapers, are becoming increasingly anti-Semitic. Thus far there are at least four fascist groups in England; however, not one of them can claim a large following.

In Palestine, an English mandate, some of the Arab protestants against Jewish immigration and colonization are in close touch with the German National Socialist Party. The dictatorial government of Pilsudski in Poland is not antipathetic to Jewry and is in vigorous opposition to the anti-Jewish and rowdy National Democratic (Endeks) and National Radical (Naras) parties. The Italian fascists, creators of absolutism in modern government, are not anti-Semitic; it is even said that Guido Jung, their Minister of Finance, is a Jew. In some of the other European countries the anti-Semitic tone is not noticeable.

National Socialism has made considerable headway, it is reported, among the Germans in the Union of South Africa and among the German colonists in South America, and particularly in Chile where the German schools are manned by National Socialist teachers subject to the National Socialist Teachers' Association in the German homeland. It is rather obvious that in many instances the loyalty of Diaspora Germans to the present government is motivated not so much by belief in National Socialism as by a desire to be of service to the Fatherland no matter what party is in power for the time being.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

On the North American continent, outside of some small groups in Canada and Mexico, the greatest activity is in the United States with its large number of German Americans. It is not surprising that associations like the Steuben Society of America, comprised for the most part of German American citizens, are sympathetic to the new government back home. Their sentimental loyalty to the Fatherland, even though it is now governed by a dictatorial clique, outweighs any qualms which they might feel as citizens of a liberal constitutional democracy. They are not Nazis; most German Americans have been deaf to Nazi importunings. National Socialist successes, not very startling thus far, have been limited to the German speaking societies in close touch with German cultural and political hopes. Sympathies are particularly strong among the post-War immigrants many of whom either fought or suffered in Germany in the period 1914-1918.

The story of National Socialist efforts in America has been described in detail by Ludwig Lore in *The Nation* for November 29, 1933, and Samuel Duff McCoy in *Today,* in the issues of March 31, April 7, and April 14, 1934. Though Nazi sympathizers were active for a number of years in gaining friends for their cause in this land, the movement did not really make headway until the advent of Hitler to power in January, 1933. The leader of Nazi propaganda up to 1933 was Ernst Luedecke, the Washington correspondent of the Hitlerite *Völkischer Beobachter*. Lore is of the opinion that it was Luedecke who supplied Representative Blanton of Texas and Representative Louis T. McFadden of Pennsylvania with anti-Semitic materials for their addresses in Congress. McFadden, obviously, has made good use of the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. It is more probable that he learned to know them through Henry

Ford's articles in the widely circulated *Dearborn Independent.*

As the party in Germany began to gain power in 1932, it started to organize auxiliary societies in America: in New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, St. Louis, Boston, and Jersey City—all centers of strong German sentiment. The authorized "Leader," since 1932, was Heinz Spanknoebel of Detroit. After Hitler had come to power he dissolved these party affiliates (April 30, 1933) to avoid, no doubt, the international legal complications of controlling a political party owing their first allegiance to him and not to the countries of their residence.

Some time in the summer of 1933, the National Socialist groups in the United States were reorganized as the Association of the Friends of New Germany (*Bund, Freunde des neuen Deutschland*[*s*]). This association is the most important Hitler group in this country but there are at least four other specifically German Nazi associations in the United States. Among the committees of each local society of the Friends of New Germany is one devoted to publicity and propaganda. Among the officers is a storm-troop commander whose functions are not known to the public. The charge that there are Nazi organizations drilling on American soil for subversive purposes is now being investigated by a special committee of the House of Representatives. All these Nazi clubs carry on National Socialist propaganda. That is their avowed purpose. They are also openly anti-Semitic, striving to create or encourage an anti-Jewish sentiment in the minds of the great mass of German Americans and thus turn them against their Jewish fellow citizens.

Spanknoebel was most successful in his work among the Germans in New York City. He succeeded in capturing the United German Societies, a central organization representing a large number of German clubs in that city. Through his influence this central organization, formerly non-political, endorsed the present Hitler regime and declined to condemn its anti-Semitic practices. Spanknoebel's ensuing conflict with the German American Ridders, publishers of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung,* and his attempt to dictate their editorial policies brought him to the attention of the United States federal authorities.

Disquieting rumors about the aims of National Socialism in the United States induced Representative Samuel Dickstein, a Jew, chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, to appoint a sub-committee to hold unofficial hearings in order to determine the true nature of Nazi activities in this country. This was in November, 1933. Dickstein maintained that this organization had affiliates in fifteen states, that its personnel was largely alien, that it had its own secret police force, and that it had huge sums at its disposal for propaganda. "The objective of the (Nazi) bureau and its activities," said Representative Dickstein, "consists in spreading Nazi propaganda in the United States with the ultimate object of overthrowing our government and of installing in its place a dictatorship on the Nazi model." (*The New York Times,* October 10, 1933.) There was sufficient disquieting evidence to prompt Congress, March 20, 1934, to appoint a special investigating committee of seven members, under the chairmanship of Representative McCormack of Massachusetts. The task of this Special Committee on Investigation of Nazi and Other Foreign Propaganda Activities in the United States is to inquire into the "extent, character and objects of Nazi propaganda in the United States, and the diffusion within the United States of subversive propaganda that is instituted from foreign countries and attacks the principles of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution." The special committee, now at work, has not yet completed its investigation (August, 1934).

In the meantime a federal grand jury investigated the status of Heinz Spanknoebel and indicted him, on November 10, 1933, for having acted as an agent of the press division of the German Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda without having first registered with the State Department at Washington. He fled to Germany after the indictment. Lore, in his article in the *Nation,* maintains that Spanknoebel, before he fled, was in constant touch with the German General Consulate in New York and with Ambassador Luther's Embassy in Washington.

There is a constant flood of pro-Hitler material flowing daily into the editorial rooms of the newspapers of America and into the studies of our educators and legislators. There are the *American Illustrated News;* the formidable *Journal of the German Association for League of Nations Questions;* the highly technical *Weekly Report of the German Institute for Business Research;* the *German-American Economic Bulletin,* a clip sheet sponsored by the Committee for Better Trade Relations with Germany, 10 East Fortieth Street, New York; and *Speaking of Hitler, Some Comments from the American Press Compiled by Friends of Germany* (Emerson?). In addition there are books of speeches of present National Socialist leaders, and pamphlets on the German youth and on the good relations between Church and State in Germany.

The representative newspaper of the Friends of New Germany is the *Deutsche Zeitung* which has an English supplement called the *German Outlook.* Its editor is Walter Kappe, formerly associated with the *Freie Presse,* a Cincinnati German daily of Nazi proclivities. A few years ago Kappe was editor of *Der Vorposten,* a German veterans' paper published in this country which was known for its rabid attacks on those German Americans who were Americans first and then Germans. In a signed article in the *Vorposten* of January, 1931, Kappe says: "To give America our souls, as many of our fellow-countrymen have done, nobody can force us; to become German Americans, mongrels, who do not know where they belong, nobody can ask us. We are and remain Germans, Germans in America!"

The anti-Semitic *Deutsche Zeitung* circulates primarily among the German speaking Friends of New Germany; the work of enlightenment in English speaking circles is carried on by other propagandists. Among them are Edwin Emerson of New York, Thomas St. John Gaffney, George Sylvester Viereck, and others. Emerson is the head of the American Friends of Germany and, since November 7, 1933, has been a representative of the interests of the National Socialist Party in America. Years ago he was editor of the *Continental News* which was published in Amsterdam during the World War for the purpose of carrying on propaganda on behalf of the German Empire among the English soldiers. In 1917, when the United States entered the war, he retired from the editorship of the paper. He is at present also an American correspondent of the *Völkischer Beobachter.*

Thomas St. John Gaffney, who has publicily condoned the attacks of the Nazis on the Jews and has written for the anti-Jewish newspapers, is a former American consul to Dresden and Munich. He was removed from his consular office because of alleged conduct unbecoming the representative of a neutral country; he was too pro-German.

Viereck has been one of the most active writers and lecturers on behalf of the New Germany and was paid by Otto Kiep, former German Consul General in New York City, to advise him on German American public relations. He was also in the employ of Carl Byoir (a Jew) and Associates, the publicity firm that issued the *German-American Economic Bulletin* for the German Tourist Information office.

Other known German propagandists are Doug Brinkley, American radio-journalist: "I am a witness that all disquieting reports about Germany are mere fabrications"; Ellery Walter—he saw no Jews mistreated; and John G. Bucher, a frequent speaker before the Lions, the Rotary, and the Kiwanis Clubs.

That in addition to these already named there are other German propagandists at work in the United States is the opinion of such careful correspondents as Edgar Ansel Mowrer (*The New York Times,* October 4, 1933) and Frederick T. Birchall.

Birchall informs us that: "The movement to convert the United States to allegiance to the swastika, however, is a bigger and more skillfully directed one than the older war horses [Gaffney and others] can be suspected of engineering. Expert opinion is inclined to attribute it to an American of wide experience and immense success in manipulating opinion, who paid a flying visit to Germany in the late Spring and departed leaving behind a trusted associate who is still here taking tea and mixing readily without an ostensible occupation. Naturally, however, there is no public evidence of his activities.

"Such professional aid is commonly rated as the most expensive that could be enlisted, but money is the smallest factor in Nazi calculations when there is a real object to be achieved. However poor Germany may be when it is a matter of paying commercial debts, German resources for propaganda and political purposes are apparently unlimited." (*The New York Times,* January 8, 1934.)

The "American of wide experience and immense success in manipulating opinion" is probably Ivy Lee, the publicity counsellor, who admitted before the McCormack Special Committee that through the agency of the German Dye Trust he had advised the German government in its relations with the people of the United States. The German Dye Trust paid him $25,000 for his efforts; his son, James W. Lee 2nd, acted as his agent in Berlin and received $33,000 as an annual salary from the firm of Ivy Lee for his European services.

ANTI-SEMITIC NATIVIST MOVEMENTS

It is difficult to determine what influence is exerted by the various publicists who speak for the New Reich in this land. It is very questionable if the nativist anti-Jewish and fascistic groups in this country have been directly created by Nazi propagandists although it is manifest that the two groups, because of common sympathies, will work together. One of the most widely known of the nativist, reactionary, and anti-Jewish movements in the United States is the Silver Shirts. Ever since a Buncombe County (N.C.) Grand Jury indicted (May 24, 1934) their leader, Pelley, on charges of fraudulent stock sales, the Silver Shirts have been in process of dissolution.

There are of course a number of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Industrial Defense Association, the Order of '76, the Crusader White Shirts, the defunct Khaki Shirts, and at least a half dozen others, all of which, in addition to their specific political, theological, and economic idiosyncrasies, have been engaged in furthering racial prejudice. Most of these associations, judging from the pamphlets they distribute, have access to German anti-Semitic materials. One sometimes wonders if the similarity in literature and the agreement in anti-Semitic attack does not presuppose a single mind behind these apparently independent groups. The Khaki Shirts of America, led by the picturesque, helmeted Art J. Smith—he was "death on Communism" and had "a personal letter from Hitler"—is apparently disrupted now that the Commander in Chief has been sentenced to Sing Sing prison for a period from three to six years for perjury in a murder trial.

The Silver Shirts, like the Ku Klux Klan, was a Protestant Christian Movement that meant "to save America as Mussolini and his Black Shirts saved Italy and Hitler and his Brown Shirts saved Germany." Only members of a Christian Militia were to hold office in the Christ Democracy which was to be established. This organization was politically conservative, anti-Marxian, and bitterly anti-Jewish. In its present form it was created early in 1933 by William Dudley Pelley with headquarters at Asheville, N. C. Pelley, like Hitler whom he admires, is a man of modest education. He has been a business man, a journalist, and a Y.M.C.A. secretary in Siberia. Prior to his emergence as an anti-Semite, in 1932, he was active in publishing his psychic experiences in *The New Liberator Weekly*. In the June, 1931, issue he states that "The Contents of This Magazine, Where Designated, Were Received 'Clairaudiently' via the Psychic Radio, from Great Souls Who Have Graduated Out of This Three-Dimensional World into Other Areas of Time and Space."

In the election of July 31, 1932, Adolf Hitler received almost 14,000,000 votes and elected 230 deputies to the Reichstag. In October, 1932, Pelley, who had manifested no anti-Semitism up to this time, now came out in a new magazine, *Liberation,* with an anti-Jewish program. Roosevelt, the Silver Shirts are convinced, does not possess the qualifications for a successful dictator. Anyhow he "is reliably reputed to be the descendant of certain Dutch Jews." He is under the influence of the international Jewish "money-bund." It would also appear that "Jewish Communists" have a plague germ in their possession, to say nothing of control of the hoof and mouth disease which they can unloose whenever they wish. Even this does not exhaust the venomous repertory of the Jew who has some fatal disease germs ready for insertion into canned goods on the Pacific Coast.

The accusation that "Jewish Communists" will attack the world through disease germs brings to mind the work of Dr. Ewald Banse, professor of Military Science at the Technological University in Brunswick. Banse, in his book *Wehrwissenschaft* (Military Science) suggested that weak and unarmed nations (he had Germany in mind) could best defend themselves by infecting the enemy's water supply with typhus bacilli and by artificially infecting rats with the bubonic plague and sending them against the enemy's lines. "The only man in Europe who correctly understands the tie-up between communism and the predatory elements among the Hebrews is Hitler," continues the Silver Shirt pamphlet from which some of the above statements have been quoted.

Among the numerous charges preferred against the Jew by the Silver Shirts is that of being a "nomad," an "internationalist whose ultimate objectives may well mean the destruction and disappearance of the United States." This reference to the nomadic character of the Jew is strongly reminiscent of the work of the Viennese professor Adolf Wahrmund, *The Law of Nomadism and the Present Jewish Domination* (1887). Pelley himself openly writes of his close relations with "Hitler-German idealists" in America and admits he is an honorary member of a Chicago German American anti-Jewish club. This membership was conferred upon him "in recognition of his work for purging our nation of its subversive elements."

Pelley and the other fascist groups that are trying to build up a great semi-military force in order to assume control of the instruments of American republican government are all following in the wake of Hitler. Some of these shirt groups are in close touch with Naziism through its American agents and friends. The first public meeting of the Silver Shirts in New York City, set for November 3, 1933, was to assemble at Kreuzer Halle which had been turned over to them for that night by the League of Friends of New Germany.

The pleas of American fascists and the German National Socialists in this land have much in common—certainly this, that they all maintain that they are saving the world from communism, which they identify with Judaism. This plea is but a pretext to frighten people with the bogey of communism, to incite racial hatred against the Jewish minority and, under cover of this double agitation, to overthrow the forms of representative government and seize power for a limited group. The seizure of power is their real goal.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HITLERISM FOR WESTERN CIVILIZATION

In presenting their own case the German National Socialists maintain that their revolution was peaceful and that they represent the electorate. They insist that they ask only for equality in the family of nations; their most heartfelt yearning is for peace both for Germany and for Europe. In spite of these pretensions, the present group who have seized power in Germany are an imminent menace to world progress and universal peace. The ideals of courage, manliness, love of home and people, purity and morality which they preach are not unique with them; they are the common possession of all peoples today. Unique in German fascism is its ruthless subjection of the individual to the dominance of an autocratic, self-perpetuating clique. History has rarely recorded an autocracy so unlimited in its power as this one.

The liberal republican constitution of Weimar has been emasculated; the basic human liberties have been suspended or annulled. The right of political assembly is denied the German people; they have no opportunity to choose their own representatives; political parties are illegal. There are in concentration camps (1934) at least nine thousand prisoners whose only crime is that they opposed the National Socialists. Political prisoners are interned without due process of law; the property of refugees may be confiscated at will by the authorities. Secrecy of communication by letter, telephone, and telegraph has been abolished; an elaborate system of internal espionage has been created. The radio and press are completely dominated by the state; free speech and freedom of the press are but historical memories.

The Church has been hampered and restricted as an institution of religious and social welfare. The Catholic Church, too powerful to be controlled, has been limited through a concordat. The mass of German Protestants, more defenseless, have been welded together by government decree into a single group dominated by a single bishop. Hitler, through his clerical agents, like Bishop Mueller, is attempting to make of the Protestant church in Germany an instrument of the German state. He has attempted to determine who shall and shall not become or remain a Protestant, who shall preach and to whom the preaching shall be done, and even what shall be preached. This philosophy of Erastianism, of the enslavement of the Church to the State, spells destruction for the concept of freedom of conscience. As in the days of Constantine and his Byzantine successors, or as in the days of the Tudor rulers, this policy of playing fast and loose with a people's religious confession leads to confusion and demoralization. Thus far, however, Hitler has not completely succeeded in his attempt to dictate the policies of the Protestant Churches of the Third Empire.

Not only in the field of religion has the clock been turned back. Under the influence of medieval tradition, woman is quietly and gently being pushed from the "sordid world" of business and politics into the more refined and cloistered existence of the home, the nursery, and the kitchen. The Civil Service Law of July 4, 1933, which proscribes the employment of women in the civil service unless they are thirty-five years of age, foreshadows the expressed intention of the Nazis to take women out of business and professional life. This law also provides that they are to be paid less than men. The law governing admission to the universities limits the number of women students to a maximum of one-tenth of the total number of students admitted. The function of woman is to bear children and every effort is made to make women realize their obligation to the state in this respect.

It is not surprising that the new National Socialist government has made some drastic changes in education. Education is a most rigidly controlled monopoly in Germany today. Most modern states have attempted to determine only in a general way what shall be taught in the public schools. This new Empire goes much further and determines not only what shall be taught but who shall teach and who shall be taught. Only those members who measure up to the standards of National Socialism may teach and only those young men and women of whom the party and the government approve may attend the universities and professional schools. The right to higher education becomes a privilege to be bestowed by the authorities only upon those whom they deem fit. Native ability or personal inclination is no longer sufficient justification for academic or professional study (*Völkischer Beobachter,* December 29, 1933).

The basic studies in the new curriculum of the schools are to be history, geography, racial science, and military science. Through an intensive study of these disciplines, to which the child will be exposed at a most tender age, a new generation will arise which will be willing, devoted, eager instruments in the power of a group of irresponsible men. A nation that trains its youth to wield the sword cannot hope for peace. A powerful state of 65,000,000 people trained in military exercises, infused with an almost religious conviction of its need, in fact its right to carve out a future for itself by force of arms, is a constant threat to the peace of the world, to civilization itself. Its program of regimentation of the individual, of control of all the cultural media by the state, spells the end of individual liberty and personal freedom.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HITLERISM FOR WORLD JEWRY

Fascist Germany, in the center of Europe, faces not only East but West. If it succeeds in maintaining itself in its present form, if it continues to influence the liberal democratic states, it can become the most formidable opponent that democracy has ever encountered. If Hitlerism succeeds in encouraging other states to adopt its type of government then constitutionalism of the French, British, and American type is doomed. The disappearance of liberalism is a constant threat to Jewish equality. The Jew in Europe was deprived of many civil and political rights from about 400 to 1800. The victory of popular government, of the civil equality of all, restored these rights to him.

Modern fascism does away with civil and political equality. It places the power of the state in the hands of a few. It can be an enlightened despotism; it can just as well be an unmodified despotism. The Jew, as a humanitarian, objects to any type of fascism—even the Italian type—although his own status may not be affected. The Jew as a Jew, no matter where he lives, most bitterly resents the Hitlerian fascism because it threatens to reduce him to the status of a hated and merely tolerated second-class citizen. National Socialism declares to the various states of the world that they can best succeed if they are racially homogeneous. The Jews, say the German racists, differ racially from every people among whom they live. The state in which the Jews live, therefore, must expel or degrade these racially different Jews if it hopes to maintain itself. The teachings of the German racists are a threat to the continued peaceful existence of the Jew in every corner of the world to which racial and fascist propaganda may reach. If the National Socialist view prevails throughout the world it will be impossible for the Jew to continue to live among others.

And even though the Jew be permitted to remain as an outcast group in the land of his birth, this new ghettoization will starve his soul, narrow his horizon, and deprive him of all the beauty and inspiration of modern art, literature, and culture. This murder of the spirit is infinitely more cruel than murder of the flesh.

The propaganda of the new Reich today is bound only by the limitations of the post, the press, and the radio. For the first time in all history a great power with all the resources of a strong creative state has devoted itself to a universal crusade against the Jewish people. It may be that this growing world-wide attack on the Jews by the present German government is merely an attempt to evoke sympathy for the new German Empire by creating a common bond of hatred against the Jew. If this be true, if the National Socialist propagandists have not even the questionable merit of sincerity, then their actions are particularly reprehensible. Sincere or not, they are morally responsible for creating an atmosphere of hatred and dissension that may eventuate in the mistreatment of Jewish citizens in lands where they have always been accorded equality and freedom The emphasis on racial distinctions, on untenable theories of superiority and inferiority, not only threatens to undermine the position of the

Jew but also menaces the very existence of any state where different racial types now live together in peace.

* * *

The Jew gained political and economic freedom only after a long hard struggle. It required almost as much effort to hew out a place for himself in the realm of culture. Such things are the very marrow of Jewish existence. The Jew will never yield in his struggle for freedom. The Jew will never give up the new light of the Western World.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF JEWS AND NON-JEWS IN THE PROFESSIONS IN PRUSSIA (1925)

Pop. of Germany: 62,348,782 Pop. of Jews in Germany: 564,379
Pop. of Prussia: 38,175,989 Pop. of Jews in Prussia: 404,446

PROFESSION	OWNERS AND EXECUTIVES			EMPLOYEES		
	TOTAL	JEWS		TOTAL	JEWS	
		TOTAL	PERCENTAGE		TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Lawyers	8,301	2,208	26.60	258	31	12.00
Physicians	23,663	3,670	15.51	5,316	835	15.71
Dentists	4,805	713	14.79	931	65	7.00
Writers & Journalists	2,906	374	12.88	725	73	10.09
Kindergarten Teachers (females)	331	33	10.00	17,865	393	2.20
Singers	1,298	113	8.70	4,177	330	7.90
Actors	412	31	7.52	5,398	368	6.81
Chemists	653	44	6.74	5,822	191	3.28
Pharmacists	3,928	231	5.81	5,641	206	3.65
Editors	740	41	5.54	3,475	192	5.52
Painters and Sculptors	5,912	282	4.80	1,068	35	3.30
Dental Technicians	7,770	286	3.68	5,804	159	2.74
Musicians	12,074	419	3.47	29,485	480	1.63
Vaudeville Artists	969	25	2.58	4,521	150	3.32
Engineers & Architects	18,933	468	2.47	70,139	885	1.26
Male & Female Nurses	4,211	68	1.61	78,934	489	0.62
Teachers (not including Universities)	8,803	—	—	186,520	1,351	0.72
Stage Directors	—	—	—	593	65	10.96
TOTAL	105,709	9,006	8.52	426,672	6,298	1.48

Table 19 in Jakob Lestschinsky, *The Economic Fate of German Jewry*, p. 103

APPENDIX II

GERMAN JEWISH HISTORIANS

AMONG the better known classical philologists and historians of the Roman world was Ludwig Friedländer who wrote *Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire,* now in its tenth revised edition. Two of Mommsen's best pupils were Hermann Dessau and Otto Hirschfeld, both distinguished Roman historians. Eugen Täubler (b. 1879), appointed professor of ancient history at Heidelberg in 1924, is not only recognized as an authority in ancient history but is also widely known as a distinguished scholar in the field of Jewish history. His war services and his sound political views have not deterred the new government from accepting his resignation. His wife, Selma Stern, is the outstanding historian in the field of German Jewish history.

Philipp Jaffé was one of the notable editors of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Historical Monuments of Germany). Other Jews who have helped edit these sources for the German Middle Ages are Wilhelm Levison, Hermann Bloch, Harry Bresslau, Richard Salomon, and Felix Liebermann. Liebermann, brother of Max, wrote *The Laws of the Anglo-Saxons,* an authoritative monograph on early Germanic English law. His work brought him honorary degrees from both Oxford and Cambridge.

Bernhard, son of Eduard Martin von Simson, wrote the standard history of Louis the Pious. Hermann Bloch, who also worked on the *Monumenta,* was a keen student of the Staufer dynasty. Theodor Hirsch wrote on Prussian history, Felix Salomon on English history, and Richard Sternfeld on both European history and the history of music. Martin Philippson (d. 1916) wrote the volumes on the Counter-Reformation and on Louis XIV in the great Oncken series. Philippson, who was also the author of a three volume modern Jewish history, was the son of Ludwig Philippson, one of the leading rabbis, journalists, and organizers in nineteenth century German Jewry. Alfred Philippson (b. 1864), another brother, is a distinguished geographer. He was for many years professor at Bonn. The banker and music critic who turned historian was Robert Davidsohn (b. 1853). This brilliant man, originally trained in the field of finance, was for a time chief editor of the *Berliner Börsen-Courier* before he began his studies which have produced the monumental *History of Florence.*

A student of the more modern period is Alfred Stern (b. 1846) who wrote a detailed history of nineteenth century Europe. Ernst Bernheim, a convert, wrote the best work yet published on historical method and the philosophy of history; it has gone through six editions.

APPENDIX III

GERMAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING GERMAN JEWRY AS A CORPORATIVE UNIT

German-Israelitish Communal Association

Union of German Jews

Working Committee of the Jewish State Associations in the German Empire

This Committee, created in 1928, succeeded the above two organizations, but was in turn superseded by the following National Committee:

National Committee of German Jewish State Associations

This Committee, created after the coming to power of the National Socialists, was an attempt to unite all German Jews through a union of the different state communal associations.

National Committee of German Jews

It was finally found advisable, in 1933, to unite all German Jews, not on the basis of a union of communal associations, but through representation by outstanding personalities.

ORGANIZATIONS DEVOTED TO JEWISH DEFENSE

Society for Combatting Anti-Semitism

This non-Jewish organization dissolved itself in 1933 when the National Socialists took over the German government.

Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith

This is the most important German Jewish defense organization. It is strongly anti-Zionistic.

National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers

A vigorous German nationalistic group of World War veterans. They are strongly anti-Zionistic.

REVIVAL MOVEMENT OF JEWISH GERMANS

This small group has appeared since the rise of Hitler. It is very "German" and nationalistic.

SOCIETY OF NATIONAL GERMAN JEWS

An insignificant group of German Jewish chauvinists.

Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden

This Aid Association of the German Jews is noted for its aid to Jews in Eastern Europe, particularly to those East European immigrants who pass through Germany. It is now active in aiding German Jews who are migrating from Germany. Palestine immigration, however, is directed by the German Zionist organization.

SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

CENTRAL WELFARE OFFICE OF THE GERMAN JEWS

This is the central coordinating and administrative bureau for the German Jewish social agencies.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE GERMAN JEWS FOR HELP AND RECONSTRUCTION

This Committee has undertaken the work of the rehabilitation of the Jews under the Nazi regime. Prior to the ascension to power of the National Socialists the super-organization which attempted to cope with the growing economic distress of the German Jews was the Societies Dealing with the Economic Problems of the Jews in Germany. The Central Committee of the German Jews for Help and Reconstruction is aided to some degree by the Central Advisory Council for Relief and Reconstruction, an international Jewish relief organization with headquarters in London. Further aid is rendered by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation whose field of work lies primarily in war-stricken Eastern Europe.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH FARM SETTLEMENTS IN GERMANY AND JEWISH FARM WORK

Were created by the National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers in order to encourage the return of German Jews to the soil.

Hehaluz, THE GERMAN TERRITORIAL ASSOCIATION OF PIONEERS,
Is the Zionist organization that devotes itself to the vocational training of those younger Jews who expect to leave Germany.

LAND AND CRAFTS provides vocational training and retraining for non-Zionists.

ORT, THE SOCIETY FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF CRAFTS AND AGRICULTURE AMONG THE JEWS
Has concentrated most of its efforts on East European Jewry.

OZE, THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF JEWS
Also lays stress on the work in the old eastern War Zone.

THE ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH STUDENTS' CLUBS OF GERMANY
Helps needy Jewish students, particularly foreigners.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS

GERMAN SECTION OF THE JEWISH AGENCY
This is a German association of both Zionists and non-Zionists who are working for the rebuilding of Palestine.

ZIONIST ASSOCIATION OF GERMANY
This is the central organization around which rally all German Jews who look forward to a Jewish state in Palestine. Its vocational and agricultural training work is supervised by *Hehaluz;* its athletic activities are carried on by the German Section of the Maccabee World Union. The athletic work of the non- and anti-Zionists is directed by the National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soliders.

FRATERNAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

B'NAI B'RITH
The largest Jewish fraternal organization in Germany.

SISTERHOOD OF THE B'NAI B'RITH

JEWISH WOMEN'S LEAGUE

The most important association of Jewish women's clubs.

AGUDAT ISRAEL

An international Jewish organization devoted to the furtherance of orthodoxy in religion. There is a German branch.

THE WORLD SABBATH OBSERVANCE LEAGUE, *Shomre Shabbos*

An international orthodox Jewish religious organization devoted to the observance of the Sabbath.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

SOCIETY FOR THE CULTURE AND SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

Organized by Leopold Zunz in 1819 to further the Science of Judaism. It lasted but a few years.

SOCIETY FOR THE FURTHERING OF THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

This society, created in 1902, devotes itself to the publication of scientific works of Jewish interest.

THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The conservative rabbinical academy.

THE RABBINICAL SEMINARY

The orthodox rabbinical academy.

THE UNIVERSITY FOR THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM (*Lehranstalt* or *Hochschule*)

A non-denominational Jewish "university" which limits itself to studies of Jewish life and literature. Many of its students become rabbis in the Liberal Jewish ministry. Like the Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary it is situated in Berlin; the Jewish Theological Seminary is in Breslau.

THE ACADEMY FOR THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

This "academy" is interested only in research in the field of the Science of Judaism.

GENERAL ARCHIVE OF THE GERMAN JEWS

A depository for documents and materials of German Jewish historical and cultural interest.

SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF JEWISH ART REMAINS

A society devoted to the preservation of objects of Jewish art.

THE CULTURAL LEAGUE OF GERMAN JEWS

This league is attempting to provide cultural stimulus for Jews in the new Nazi Empire.

CENTRAL BUREAU FOR JEWISH ADULT EDUCATION

An organization that has been created, since the rise of the Nazis, to further adult Jewish education. It is led by Martin Buber.

PARENTS' AID FOR THE JEWISH YOUTH

An aid society created to help Jewish children secure an adequate education under the Third Empire.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

NATIONAL COMMISSION OF JEWISH YOUTH SOCIETIES

This commission coordinates the work of all German Jewish youth clubs.

THE ASSOCIATION OF GERMAN JEWISH YOUTH

Is a new federation of Jewish youth clubs that has been created since the advent of the Hitlerites. It is non-Zionistic. The Zionistic youth are grouped around *Hehaluz*. For further details concerning the various youth groups consult Appendix IV.

FRATERNITIES AND SIMILAR INSTITUTIONS

THE ASSOCIATION OF FRATERNITIES OF THE GERMAN STUDENTS OF THE JEWISH FAITH

The non-Zionist Jewish fraternity federation.

THE ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH FRATERNITIES

The Zionist university fraternity federation.

UNION OF JEWISH ACADEMICIANS

An organization of religiously orthodox Jews.

APPENDIX IV

GERMAN JEWISH YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

THE first group to organize were the Zionists. As early as 1913 the "Blue-White" (Zionist colors) started out as a band of "wanderers" but later began to prepare themselves for the more serious tasks of farming and crafts in Palestine. The strongest Zionist band (it had thirty units) was the *Young Jewish Wanderers* which was both Zionistic and socialistic and trained its followers to do pioneering work in the Holy Land. The *Kadimah* is still another Zionistic band, but it is not committed to any particular social or religious philosophy within Zionism. It lays emphasis on character training, proper spirit, and intensive Jewish studies. The orthodox Zionist youth, the Young *Mizrahi,* with twenty-nine branches all over Germany, are non-socialist like the *Kadimah,* and have their own training farm in Germany. There were a number of other Jewish youth groups, among them the *Brith Trumpeldor,* a militant Zionist club that emphasized the principles of discipline, self-defense, and intellectual and physical preparation for an all-Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan. The agricultural and craft training of the different Zionist societies is the work of the German Territorial Association of Pioneers (*Hehaluz*).

The Comrades or Union of German Jewish Working Youth with its 1,600 members (1932) is a conglomerate of different societies, many of which are interested only in sport and play, while others are socialistic and concern themselves with the problems of society. This society is bound by a devotion to both Germanism and Judaism. The Comrades are eager to reconstruct the social and intellectual life of German Jewry. Probably as a reaction to the serious purpose of this society, a large group calling themselves the Black Pennant Forest Pioneers seceded in 1932 and interested themselves almost solely in hiking and camping. Their only desire is to be a youth movement in the literal sense of the term.

More conservative in its politics was the Community of Jewish Liberal Associations which emphasized the close relation between Germanism and Judaism, and decisively rejected the Jewish national ideal. This group is devoted to religious liberalism and to the intelligent study of Jewish literature. Although liberal in principle, it is not bound by any particular theology. With its eight large groups, this organization shares its anti-Zionism with the large and powerful *Agudat Israel* Youth Organization, which had forty units in Germany and is part of a large international youth group affiliated with the *Agudat Israel*. The *Agudat Israel,* as is well known, is a very orthodox movement "devoted to the solution of the problem of the Jewish people in the light of the Torah." Like the Jewish Liberals, the orthodox do little "wandering" but a great deal of studying of Jewish lore. They take care of poor Jews, seek work for the unemployed, and provide special jobs for conscientious Sabbath observers. Associated with the Agudists is the Ezra association which is more sympathetic to Zionism.

The groups which we have thus far noted took a definite stand on Zionism, socialism, or both; they were also either liberal or conservative, politically and religiously. The largest Jewish youth society in the country, on the other hand, the Union of Jewish Youth Clubs, was neutral. To be sure, it wished to encourage Judaism and German culture; its members too, no doubt, belonged to specific religious and political parties, but the Union itself was not a forum for any specific philosophy of Jewish life. The furtherance of moral and cultural ideals was the chief aim of this Union of over 150 clubs. Much of their work is done in the smaller towns where they have given life and character to communal aspiration through the lectures and courses which they have sponsored.

Distinct from the 153 groups of the Union of Jewish Youth Clubs, yet part of the organization, is the Jewish Pathfinders Association which, with its sixty-five constituent clubs, was organized in 1931 as a protest against the neutrality of the mother society. It seeks, on a boy scout basis, to create a strong unified Jewish youth movement in Germany. It wants to work for Jewry which, in Germany at least, it sees threatened by decay from within and discrimination from without. It should be remembered that this movement was created in 1931 after the National Socialists had already won their first great victory. It was very sympathetic to the work in Palestine although it was not aligned with the Zionist movement. It was pledged to attempt to make the mother society, the Union of Jewish Youth Clubs, more affirmatively Jewish in its cultural goals and more effective in providing social relief for those who experience discrimination. To accomplish these purposes it believed that the Jewish youth must devote its energies toward convincing the Jewish community at large of the gravity of the situation. Even more than this, it demanded the creation of a single unified German Jewish superorganization to meet all the needs of the German Jewish people.

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For specific details on every subject touching the history and sociology of German Jewry the student should consult the appropriate captions in the *Jüdisches Lexikon*, 5 vols., Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1927-1930, and the larger *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Berlin: Verlag Eschkol, Vol. I ff., 1928 ff. Ten volumes of this work, covering the letters Aa to Lyra, have already been issued and, if completed, it will probably number at least fifteen volumes. A number of articles in this encyclopedia, for example "Antisemitismus" and "Deutschland," have the character of monographs. These German encyclopedias are for our purpose more valuable than the *Jewish Encyclopedia* which was completed in 1906 and has not yet been brought up to date. Many of the great German Jewish figures of today, such as Albert Einstein, are not even mentioned in it; Freud is known merely as a neurologist. *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Knowledge*, the publication of which has just been announced, will probably serve, if only in a modest fashion, to supplement the older and more detailed *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

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CHAPTERS I-II

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Topics for Study, Discussion, and Papers

1. What is meant by the "formal equality" which the Jews enjoyed under the Second Empire?
2. What advantages accrued to the Jews through the establishment of the German Republic in 1918?
3. What other groups besides the Jews have suffered at the hands of the National Socialists?
4. What is meant by "humane extermination"?
5. Why have atrocities practically ceased in Germany?
6. What do we mean by the "Rights of Man"? Why are they important? Read and discuss the first ten amendments to the American Constitution.
7. Why is it difficult to get a clear and consistent picture of the anti-Jewish legislation of the Third Reich?
8. What is the Law for the Restoration of the Regular Civil Service? What is its significance?
9. What is meant by "non-Aryan" descent?
10. Why is the Aryan Paragraph particularly cruel when applied to Christians of Jewish origin?

11. What is the significance for the Jew of the Law against the Overcrowding of the German Schools and Universities? What effects will this have upon Jewish participation in the professions in the future?
12. Are Jews allowed to attend the elementary schools in Germany?
13. What limitations have been placed on the practice of medicine by Jews?
14. Why do National Socialist disabilities apply in many cases even to Christians or Aryans who have Jewish wives?
15. Why are the Hitlerites so eager to drive Jews out of the field of journalism and away from the stage and cinema?
16. Why are the economic and industrial disabilities imposed on Jews so dangerous for the future welfare of German Jewry?
17. List some of the economic disabilities to which Jews are subject today in Germany.
18. Why is the lot of the Jewish shopkeeper more precarious in the small town than in the large city?
19. What is meant by the statement: "Jews can survive pogroms"?
20. What is meant by the "cold pogrom"? What are the chances of survival in this type of pogrom?
21. Why is the boycott against the Jews in Germany a boomerang against the National Socialists? What other restrictive measures have the capacity to harm Germany as much as they harm the Jews?
22. What religious restrictions have been imposed on German Jewry? Why has this type of restriction been minimal?
23. What are some of the laws of social and cultural discrimination against Jews that have been promulgated by the National Socialists? What effect can these have upon the psychology of the German Jews?
24. The refusal of the Breslau authorities to permit Jewish lifesavers to remain in the civil service is reminiscent of two incidents in medieval Jewish history. (1) The German Em-

peror Otto II (d. 983) was badly defeated by the Greeks and Arabs at Colonna in Calabria, July 13, 982 and was saved only by the loyalty of the Jew Kalonymos who gave him a horse on which he fled. The Chronicle of the Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg, our source, offers no information as to whether Otto II investigated the racial origins of Kalonymos before accepting his aid. (2) Otto escaped to Rossano which happened to be the birthplace of the famous Christian saint and ascetic Nilus the Younger. About this time, on a visit of Nilus to Rossano, Shabbethai Donnolo, the famous Jewish physician and pharmacologist, came to see him and offered to help him preserve his health which was imperiled by his ascetic mode of life. Nilus refused to accept any help from the Jew. His reason, quoted by Graetz, *History of the Jews,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1894, III, pp. 213-214, is intriguing.

25. The burning of books has a long tradition in Germany and Europe. Luther, one of the greatest of the National Socialist heroes, burnt the canon law of the Church, and in turn his own writings were burnt in several towns. Jewish writings, particularly the Talmud, were burnt all through the Middle Ages. For details consult Graetz, III, pp. 572 ff.; Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages,* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887, I, pp. 553 ff. Meir of Rothenburg has written a poem on "The Burning of the Law." A translation by Nina Davis may be found in her *Songs of Exile,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1901, pp. 83-91.
26. How would you account for the strong patriotism of the German Jewish *émigrés?*
27. For the study of the German Jewish attitude to the German people read Leon Hühner, "The Jew as a Citizen in Germany," in *Judaean Addresses,* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1917, II, pp. 137-147.

CHAPTERS III-IV

THE ORIGIN OF GERMAN ANTI-SEMITISM

ADOLF HITLER AND NAZI ANTI-SEMITISM

"Anti-Semitism" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th ed., Vol. II, pp. 134 ff. This is the best essay on the subject. There are also good presentations in the *Jewish Encyclopedia (J.E.)* and in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* under the same caption. *Anti-Semitism: A Study Outline,* New York: National Council of Jewish Women, 1934, is also very useful.

Mowrer, Edgar Ansel, *Germany Puts the Clock Back,* New York: William Morrow & Company, 1933. A thoughtful analysis of post-War Germany with special reference to the forces that produced Hitler.

Wertheimer, Mildred S., "Forces Underlying the Nazi Revolution," Foreign Policy Reports, IX, No. 10, July 19, 1933.

Supplementary Readings

HISTORY OF THE MEDIEVAL ATTITUDE OF THE GERMANS TO THE JEWS

Elbogen, Ismar, *History of the Jews,* Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1926, chaps. v-viii. A brief but accurate work.

Kastein, Josef, *History and Destiny of the Jews,* New York: The Viking Press, 1933, pp. 250 ff. All of Kastein's works are now proscribed in Germany.

Sachar, Abraham Leon, *A History of the Jews,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930, chaps. xv; xvii, pp. 227-229; xix. Interesting and well written.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION TILL 1871

Elbogen, pp. 163-175.

Graetz, H., *History of the Jews,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1895, Vol. V, chap. viii.

Kastein, pp. 375-412.

Sachar, chaps. xx-xxii.

THE RISE OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE 'SEVENTIES

Elbogen, pp. 210-215.

Kastein, pp. 412-434.

Lazare, Bernard, *Antisemitism: Its History and Causes,* New York: International Library Publishing Company, 1903, chap. viii: "Modern Legal Anti-Judaism"; chap. ix: "Modern Anti-semitism and Its Literature." This work of Lazare is the nearest approach to a complete history of anti-Jewish prejudice throughout the ages. It is a good popular study.

Margolis and Marx, *A History of the Jewish People,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1927, chap. xciii. This work is the most accurate and detailed of the one volume histories of the Jews. It is an excellent reference book.

"Nordicus," *Hitlerism,* New York: The Mohawk Press, 1932, pp. 161 ff. A study of Adolf Stöcker.

Ruppin, Arthur, *The Jews of To-Day,* London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1913, chap. xii: "Anti-Semitism an Ineffective Check to Assimilation."

Sachar, pp. 338-342.

THEORIES OF GOBINEAU AND HOUSTON STEWART CHAMBERLAIN

Chamberlain, Houston Stewart, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century,* New York: John Lane Company, 1913.

Gobineau, Joseph Arthur, Comte de, *Inequality of Human Races,* tr. by Adrian Collins, New York, Putnam, 1915. A translation of the first volume of Gobineau's famous work on race.

Hankins, Frank H., *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, chaps. iii-iv. Hankins believes there is some relation between culture and race.

Hertz, Friedrich, *Race and Civilization*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928, chap. viii.

Roback, A. A., *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought*, Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1929, chap. xvi: "Renan's Place in Semitic Philology."

Sorokin, Pitirim, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928, chap. v: "Anthropo-racial, Selectionist, and Hereditarist School."

THE BREAKDOWN OF GERMAN MORALE AND THE TURN TO HITLER, 1930

Benns, F. Lee, *Europe Since 1914*, New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1934, chap. xiii: "The German Republic."

Quigley, Hugh, "German History from 1900 to 1931," in *Germany: A Companion to German Studies*, ed. by Jethro Bithell, New York: Lincoln Macveagh, 1932, chap. iv.

ADOLF HITLER

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Lengyel, Emil, *Hitler*, New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1932.

"Nordicus," pp. 9 ff.

Thompson, Dorothy, *"I Saw Hitler!"* New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1932.

POST-WAR ANTI-SEMITISM

Hoover, Calvin B., *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, pp. 169 ff.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole, *Israel Among the Nations*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900, chap. x: "The Jewish Spirit." The opinions of this eminent non-Jewish sociologist are always worth reading. This was one of the most widely read books a generation ago when the Dreyfus case was occupying the attention of all thinking people.

ANTI-CHRISTIAN ANTI-SEMITISM

Macfarland, Charles S., *The New Church and the New Germany: A study of Church and State*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. Dr. Macfarland is very anxious to be fair to Hitler and his associates. Of special interest are: chap. viii: "The Jewish Problem and the Aryan Legislation"; chap. xi: "Conflicting Parties"; chap. xii: "Non-Christian Teutonic Cults and Bodies."

"THE INTERNATIONAL JEWISH CONSPIRACY"

Bernstein, Herman, *The History of a Lie*, New York: J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Company, 1921.

Jews in Nazi Germany, The, New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1933, pp. 49 ff.

"'Protocols', Bolshevism, and the Jews, The," *American Jewish Year Book*, XXIII (1921-1922), pp. 367 ff.

Protocols and World Revolution, The, Including a Translation and Analysis of the "Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom," Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1920. There is another edition, *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*, translated from the Russian, etc., New York: The Beckwith Company, 1920. The nativist anti-Semitic societies also circulate special editions of this notorious document.

Spargo, John, *The Jew and American Ideals,* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1921, chaps. ii-iv.

Wolf, Lucien, *The Myth of the Jewish Menace in World Affairs or The Truth About the Forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921.

Zangwill, Israel, *The Voice of Jerusalem,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921, "The Legend of the Conquering Jew," pp. 158-227. An important and interesting essay.

THE OFFICIAL PROGRAM OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Brunauer, Esther Caukin, *The National Revolution in Germany, 1933,* Washington, D. C.: International Relations Office, American Association of University Women, National Headquarters, 1634 I Street, 1933, pp. 4 ff; 24 ff.

Feder, Gottfried, *The Programme of the Party of Hitler, the National Socialist German Workers' Party and Its General Conceptions,* Munich: Frz. Eher Nachf., 1932.

Hoover, chap. vii and the Appendix.

Jews in Nazi Germany, The, pp. 39 ff.

"Nordicus," pp. 123 ff; pp. 154 ff.

Wise, James Waterman, *Swastika: The Nazi Terror,* New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1933, pp. 38 ff.

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Brown Book of the Hitler Terror, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933, chap. i.

Brunauer, pp. 6 f; pp. 27 f.

Hoover, chaps. iv-v. Excellent chapters.

"Nordicus," pp. 51 ff. A study of Wilhelm Frick.

"Review of the Year," *American Jewish Year Book,* XXII-XXXV (1920-1933). In addition to the annual review of the year there is usually an appended report by the American Jewish Committee on the past year in Jewish life.

Topics for Study, Discussion, and Papers

1. Why did the medieval German Christian mistreat the Jew? Was religion, race, or economic envy the cause? See the standard history of Graetz, Vols. III-IV, and the briefer studies of Elbogen, Kastein, and Sachar.
2. Trace the growth of liberalism in Central Europe and show how it helped improve the Jewish position. For the general history consult J. Salwyn Shapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929; chaps. iv, vii, xii, xv; Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe,* Vol. II, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, chap. xix: "Democratic Reform and Revolution, 1830-1849." The Jewish position may be traced in the standard histories of Elbogen, Kastein, Sachar; Max Raisin, *History of the Jews in Modern Times,* New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1919, chap. i;

Margolis and Marx, chaps. lxxx, lxxxi, lxxxiii, lxxxviii; Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* 2nd ed., New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1929, pp. 115 ff. Cohen's book is one of the best of the studies on contemporary Jewish life.

3. Did Bismarck father the anti-Semitic movement? In addition to the standard Jewish histories consult the article "Bismarck" in the *J.E.,* and Emil Ludwig, *Bismarck, the Story of a Fighter,* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1927.
4. Were the causes of anti-Semitism in Germany different from those of other lands? If so, how?
5. What was the attitude of Luther, the founder of Protestantism, to the Jews? See Graetz, IV, chaps. xiv, xvi; and "Luther, Martin" in *J.E.*
6. Is Renan to be classed as an anti-Semite? See "Renan, Joseph Ernst" in *J.E.;* the biographies by William Barry, Darmesteter, Lewis Freeman Mott, and Roback, chap. xvi.
7. What makes a man an anti-Semite? In what sense is anti-Semitism a manifestation of the modern, scientific spirit? Wherein lies the appeal of anti-Semitism? Why is anti-Semitism dangerous?
8. Why should the Church want to encourage the social improvement of the masses? What has been the position of the Church in earlier and modern times?
9. What interest has the state in the activity of the Church? What connection has this with the movements to separate Church and State in the various countries of the world?
10. Who was responsible for the Russian pogroms beginning in the 'eighties? See S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1918, Vol. II, chaps. xxi ff.
11. What is the Tisza-Eszlar affair? See "Tisza-Eszlar Affair" in the *J.E.*; in Raisin, pp. 53-55; and in Hermann L. Strack, *The Jew and Human Sacrifice,* New York: The Bloch Publishing Company, 1911, pp. 212-213.

12. Why are so many people afraid of socialists?
13. Outline Chamberlain's concept of Judaism and its cultural value as expressed in Vol. I, chap. v: "The Entrance of the Jews into the History of the West."
14. Write a theme on the influence of Chamberlain and the Nordic theory in the United States as reflected in the writings of Madison Grant, Charles W. Gould, Lothrop Stoddard, and W. McDougall. For bibliography consult Sorokin, *Contemporary Theories,* chap. v.
15. Describe Disraeli's race theories as reflected in his novels, *Vivian Grey, Contarini Fleming, Coningsby, Tancred, Lothair,* and in his biography of Lord George Bentinck (chap. xxiv: "The Jewish Question").
16. How many American presidents of the last generation or two are Nordic types: tall, blonde, long-skulled, and blue-eyed?
17. Discuss, on the basis of the Gospels, the probable attitude of Jesus to the Nordic theory. See Macfarland, pp. 74-75.
18. Is it possible for a cultured man to be an anti-Semite? Was Chamberlain a cultured man?
19. Why were many of the German students and farmers opposed to the Jews? Bear in mind that the students enter the professions and that the farmers oppose the low tariffs on foods favored by the industrialists.
20. Do you know of any summer resorts or hotels in the United States which do not welcome Jews? There is a bibliography on social discrimination in Bruno Lasker, *Jewish Experiences in America,* New York: The Inquiry, 1930, p. 199.
21. Are there any Americans who insist on having Christians only teach in the public schools? What is the Catholic attitude? What is the Jewish attitude? Are there any Jewish parochial schools? See Harry Linfield, "The Communal Organization of the Jews in the United States, 1927," chap. ii, pp. 126 ff. in the *American Jewish Year Book,* XXXI (1929-1930).

22. Write a paper discussing the attitude and feeling of the Jewish people after they had lost a four year war, 66-70 C. E. Use Josephus, *The Jewish War,* Book VII. (The best translation is by H. St. J. Thackeray in the Loeb Classical Library, 1927.) What would German nationalists today think of Eleazar's speech in Book VII, chaps. 8-9? The list of Jewish casualties in the war against Rome are given in Josephus, *The Jewish War,* Book VI, chap. 9; the list of German war casualties are given in the *World Almanac and Book of Facts* (1934), p. 934. Accepting a maximum Palestinian Jewish population of three millions in 70 C. E., which people suffered most? What are the respective percentages of loss according to the total populations in 70 C. E. and 1918 C. E.?
23. Why did the German people after the War blame the democratic and republican regime for their troubles? Is there any relation between hunger and revolution?
24. How would you account for the remarkable "ability" of the war-time French physicians to detect the German racial odor?
25. Despite the fact that Hitler's mother was a Bohemian, why was he enraged when he was referred to as a "Slovak"?
26. Is it possible that the desire of the German racists to save themselves from the Jews is motivated by an unconscious sense of inferiority?
27. Analyze the reasons that make every nation believe it is the "chosen people." See Israel Zangwill, *Chosen Peoples,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919.
28. Are there any parallels to the habit of the anti-Semites to condemn anything by merely calling it "Jewish"? How about the post-War use of the word "Hun" and "Bolshevik"? How about the medieval use of the term "Manichee"? It is interesting to note that the word "Marrano" was also used as a word of contempt applied even to non-Jews in the sixteenth century.
29. Compare the activity of Franz Delitzsch with that of his son

Friedrich. See "Delitzsch, Franz" in the *J.E.* and in other encyclopedias.

30. What really brought about the defeat of the Germans in 1918? See Benns, chaps. iv, vi; George P. Gooch, *Germany,* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, chaps. vii, viii; Hayes, chap. xxxi, pp. 751-755; chap. xxxii.
31. Trace the history of the Jew in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Germany, and show how he has suffered as the scrapegoat for the political, social, and economic ills of the land. See Graetz, Vol. III, pp. 416-420; 583-585; 610-612; 634-640; Vol. IV, pp. 35-37; 95-111; 162-166; 177-178.
32. What anti-Jewish provisions of the official National Socialist program are rooted in medieval legislation? See the article "Disabilities" in the *J.E.,* and consult Elbogen, chaps. v-vi.
33. What prompted the anti-Semitic youth of Germany to desecrate and pollute synagogues and cemeteries?
34. Discuss or debate the question whether the National Socialist leaders really believe that the Jews are dangerous or merely pretend they are in order to fool the masses.

CHAPTER V

NORDICISM: ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE

HANKINS, FRANK H., *The Racial Basis of Civilization,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, Part II, chaps. i-xi. Well worth reading.

HERTZ, FRIEDRICH, *Race and Civilization,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. The entire work is devoted to a refutation of the racial theories advocated by such racists as the National Socialists.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

BOAS, FRANZ, *Anthropology and Modern Life,* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1932, chap. iv: "Nationalism."

———, MAURICE FISHBERG, ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, AND MAX J. KOHLER, *Aryan and Semite: With Particular Reference to Nazi Racial Dogmas,* Cincinnati: B'nai B'rith, Electric Building, 1934. A group of very short but authoritative and interesting addresses.

———, *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1912, chap. i: "General Results of the Investigation."

——— "The Growth of Children as Influenced by Environmental and Hereditary Conditions," *School and Society,* XVII (1923), pp. 305 ff.

Brown, W. Norman, *The Swastika: A Study of the Nazi Claims of Its Aryan Origin,* New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1933, chap. i: "The Meaning of 'Aryan'"; chap. ii: "Some Groups of People the Indo-Europeans have Encountered."

Cohen, Israel, *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1929, chap. viii: "Racial and Physical Characteristics."

Cohen, J. P., "The New Anti-Semitism," in the *Jewish Review* (London), June-September, 1933, pp. 83 ff.

Fishberg, Maurice, *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment,* London: W. Scott Publishing Company, 1911. A widely read book.

Franzblau, Rose, *A Study of Race Differences in Mental and Physical Traits Under Varying Environments:* Ph. D. Dissertation; Columbia University Series (to be published 1934).

Heller, Max, "The Place of the Jew in a Racial Interpretation of the History of Civilization," *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XXIII (1913), pp. 304 ff. An excellent critique of H. S. Chamberlain's views. Samuel Schulman has an extensive study, "Chamberlain's 'Foundations of the Nineteenth Century' and the Claims of Judaism," in the *Jewish Quarterly Review,* V (October, 1914), pp. 163-200.

Kautsky, Karl, *Are the Jews a Race?* New York: International Publishers, 1926, chap. viii. There is a review by Melville J. Herskovits in the *Menorah Journal,* August-September, XII (1926), pp. 442-445.

Klineberg, Otto, "A Study of Psychological Differences between 'Racial' and National Groups in Europe," *Archives of Psychology,* XX (1931), No. 132. This monograph also has an excellent introduction to the work already done in the field.

Lazare, Bernard, *Antisemitism: Its History and Causes,* New York: International Library Publishing Company, 1903, chap. x: "The Race."

Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole, *Israel Among the Nations,* chap. iv: "The Jews and the National Grievance—Aryans and Semites"; chap. viii, "Psychology of the Jew"; chap. ix: "Jewish Genius."

Lumley, Frederick E., *The Propaganda Menace,* New York: The Century Company, 1933, chap. xi: "Propaganda and Race."

"Nordic Myth, The," a series of articles in the *Nation,* Vol. CXX (1925), January 28 to June 3.

Parkes, James W., *The Jew and His Neighbour,* New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931, chap. vi: "The Political and Racial Element in Anti-Semitism."

Radin, Paul, *The Racial Myth,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.

Ruppin, Arthur, *The Jews in the Modern World,* London: The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. 8 ff; 243 ff.

———, *The Jews of To-Day,* London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1913, chap. xiii: "Race Value of the Jews."

Topics for Study, Discussion, and Papers

1. How would the attempt to Nordicize the German people affect the integrity of the family?
2. How many national and racial groups can be distinguished here in the United States?
3. What geographic conditions are partially responsible for

Germany's rise to economic power? See J. Salwyn Shapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929, pp. 398 ff. Read also Isaiah Bowman, *The New World: Problems in Political Geography,* Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1921, chap. x: "Problems of the German People."

4. The so-called Jewish nose is said by anthropologists to be of Hittite origin. However, a ministerial instruction of the German Ministry of the Interior now finds that the Hittites were originally Nordic (Adolph E. Meyer, "Nazi Education in Germany," *Social Studies,* XXV [1934], p. 61). Will those German Jews who are fortunate enough to be the possessors of hooked-noses be retained in the body-politic and be given equality of opportunity because of this obvious evidence of their Nordicity?
5. Are there Jewish Nordics? How would you account for this?
6. How constant are the so-called immutable physical traits?
7. Are Jews inherently intellectually different from other racial groups?
8. What economic and social differences might possibly account for the higher ranking of the Jews in various intelligence tests? How would you account for the negroes' being at the bottom of the list in some tests?
9. Who are the Aryans? What have the Hindus and the Germans in common?
10. What is the theory of the Nordic relation to civilization? Discuss it.
11. What is the Gobinesque theory of racial admixture?
12. How many groups, racial and linguistic, can you list who have helped contribute to the ethnic and cultural background of the United States?
13. What part has race played in medieval European culture, government, and civilization?
14. Discuss the Nordic theory of race from the following two

angles: (1) the Nordic theory is merely a pretext for the elimination of Jews from German life; (2) the Nordic theory is the compensatory concept of a people which was just defeated in a great war, yet treasures the hope of a great political and cultural future.

15. What is the national and international danger of the state founded on race?
16. What is the Nordic objection to the Jew?
17. What is the National Socialist interpretation of "Jew" and "Jewish"?
18. Why have the terms "pacifist" and "internationalist" become terms of reproach in present-day Germany?
19. According to the German Jew, what is it that makes him German?
20. What, in all probability, are the real sources of anti-Semitism?
21. Can you compare the Jewish problem in Germany with the Negro problem in the South or the Japanese problem in California? Why?
22. Do you think that anti-Semitism, wherever it is found, is only a temporary manifestation? Read Lazare, chap. xv: "The Fate of Antisemitism."
23. Read Josephus' *Against Apion* (H. St. J. Thackeray translation in the Loeb Classical Library, 1926) and compare the accusations made against the Jews in Roman times with the accusations made today against Jews. Make special note of the charges that are common to the ancient and the contemporary periods. For a study of anti-Jewish feeling in the time of the Romans consult Lazare, chap. ii: "Anti-Judaism in Antiquity"; Max Radin, *The Jews Among the Greeks and Romans,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1915, chaps. xii-xiv, and Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ,* 2nd ed., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, n. d., Second Division, Vol. III, pp. 249-262. There is a later German edition.

CHAPTERS VI-VII

THE JEW IN GERMAN POLITICAL LIFE (321-1918)

JEWRY IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE REPUBLIC (1918-1933)

THE ANTIQUITY OF GERMAN JEWISH SETTLEMENT

Elbogen, Ismar, *History of the Jews,* Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1926, pp. 69 ff.

Graetz, H., *History of the Jews,* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, Vol. III, pp. 40-41; 416-420; 634-640.

Jewish Encyclopedia, "Cologne."

THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE MEDIEVAL JEW

J.E., "Germany," pp. 631-633.

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE GERMAN JEW DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

Elbogen, pp. 62 ff.

Jacobs, Joseph, *Jewish Contributions to Civilization,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1919, chap. ii: "The Church and the Jews."

J.E., "Church Councils" and "Popes."

Margolis and Marx, *A History of the Jewish People,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1927, chaps. li-liii; lvi-lvii.

Zunz, Leopold, *The Sufferings of the Jews During the Middle Ages,* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1907.

JEWISH POLITICAL ACTIVITY TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

Brandes, George, *Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature,* Vol. VI: *Young Germany,* New York: Boni & Liveright, Inc., 1923. There are detailed studies here of Börne, Heine, Rahel Levin, Moritz Hartmann, and Jacoby.

Browne, Lewis, *That Man Heine,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

Deutsch, Gotthard, *Scrolls,* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1917, "Heinrich Heine," Vol. II, pp. 315 ff.

Elbogen, pp. 163 ff.

Graetz, Vol. V, chaps. v; viii; x-xvi; xviii. Chap. xiv treats of Heine and Börne.

J.E., "Börne" and "Heine, Heinrich."

Karpeles, Gustav, *Jewish Literature and Other Essays,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1895, "Heinrich Heine and Judaism," pp. 340 ff.

Kastein, Josef, *History and Destiny of the Jews,* New York: The Viking Press, 1933, pp. 362-404.

Kohler, Max J., "Jewish Rights at International Congresses," in *American Jewish Year Book,* XIX (1917-1918), pp. 106 ff.

———, "Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna (1814-1815) and Aix-la-Chapelle (1818)," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* XXVI (1918), pp. 33-125.

Lazaron, Morris, *Seed of Abraham,* New York: The Century Company, 1930, "Heinrich Heine," pp. 197 ff.

Marcuse, Ludwig, *Heine,* New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934.

Margolis and Marx, chaps. lxxviii: lxxxi; lxxxiii; lxxxviii.

Sachar, Abraham Leon, *A History of the Jews,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf; 1930, chaps. xx-xxii.

Walter, H., *Heinrich Heine,* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1930, chap. xxx: "Heine and Politics."

Wolf, Lucien, *Notes on the Diplomatic History of the Jewish Question,* London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1919, pp. 12-16.

THE JEW AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW GERMAN STATE

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J.E., "Arendt, Otto"; "Bismarck"; "Friedberg, Heinrich von"; "Friedenthal, Karl Rudolph"; "Riesser, Gabriel"; "Simson, Martin Eduard von"; "Stahl, Friedrich Julius."

Margolis and Marx, chap. xci.

LASKER AND BAMBERGER

J.E., "Bamberger, Ludwig"; "Lasker, Eduard."

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Bernstein, Eduard, *My Years of Exile,* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1921.

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Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* pp. 154-155.

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J.E., "Bernstein, Eduard"; "Hirsch, Max"; Lassalle, Ferdinand"; "Marx, Karl"; "Singer, Paul"; "Socialism."

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Lazaron, pp. 231 ff, "Karl Heinrich Marx."

Marx, Karl, "On the Jewish Question," in *Selected Essays,* New York: International Publishers, 1926, pp. 40-97.

Rühle, Otto, *Karl Marx: His Life and Work,* New York: The Viking Press, 1929.

Shapiro, J. Salwyn, *Modern and Contemporary European History,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929, chap. xxviii, "Revolutionary Labor Movements."

THE JEW IN WAR

J.E., "Army" p. 127.

Jews in Nazi Germany, The, New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1933, pp. 43-44.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

Benns, F. Lee, *Europe Since 1914,* New York: F. S. Crofts & Company, 1934, chap. xiii: "The German Republic."

Gooch, George P., *Germany,* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, chaps. viii-ix for Preuss, Eisner, and Luxemburg.

JEWISH PARTY AFFILIATION

Jacobs, *Jewish Contributions to Civilization,* chap. ix: "Jews and Liberalism."

Kessler, Harry, *Walther Rathenau: His Life and Work,* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930. Kessler's book is not only authoritative but is also delightful reading.

Ludwig, Emil, *Nine Etched from Life,* New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1934, "Rathenau: The German European," pp. 133-175.

POST-WAR ANTI-SEMITISM AS AN ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

Gooch, *Germany,* chaps. x-xii.

Quigley, Hugh, "German History from 1900 to 1931," in *Germany, A Companion to German Studies,* ed. by Jethro Bithell, New York: Lincoln Macveagh, 1932, pp. 112-142.

"THE INTERNATIONAL JEWISH CONSPIRACY"

Consult the bibliography under this same caption in chap. ii.

THE JEWS AND BOLSHEVISM

Jews in Nazi Germany, The, p. 54.

Lazare, *Antisemitism: Its History and Causes,* chap. xii: "The Revolutionary Spirit in Judaism."

Spargo, John, *The Jew and American Ideals,* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921, chaps. v-vi. Still serviceable.

Wolf, Lucien, *The Myth of the Jewish Menace in World Affairs,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921, chap. iii: "Jews and Bolshevism."

Yarmolinsky, Avrahm, *The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities under the Soviets,* New York: The Vanguard Press, 1928.

THE DAWES AND THE YOUNG PLANS

Benns, pp. 272 ff.

Jews in Nazi Germany, The, p. 52.

"Nordicus," *Hitlerism,* New York: The Mohawk Press, 1932, pp. 47-51. A study of Alfred Rosenberg.

Shapiro, pp. 774 f.

THE JEW IN PUBLIC OFFICE

Jews in Nazi Germany, The, pp. 45-47.

Topics for Study, Discussion, and Papers

1. Is antiquity of settlement any guarantee against prejudice?
2. Are there any countries today where Jews are subject to rabbinical law as they were in the Middle Ages? See Fannie Fern Andrews, *The Holy Land Under Mandate,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931, II, chap. xiv: "Building a Jewish Corporate Life"; A. S. Waldstein, "Jewish Self-Government," in *Modern Palestine,* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1927, chap. vi; Isaac Ben-Zwi, "Local Autonomy in Palestine," in *Palestine: A Decade of Development,* Philadelphia: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1932; Moshé Burstein, *Self-Government of the Jews in Palestine Since 1900,* Tel-Aviv, 1934.
3. Why did the Church through its legislation insist on keeping Jews and Christians apart?
4. Have we any evidence of Christian and Jewish social relations during the Middle Ages? What was the attitude of the Church to this tendency? What measures were taken? See

Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,* London: E. Goldston, 1932, chaps. xxiii-xxiv: "Personal Relations between Jews and Christians."

5. What were the principles of the French Revolution which helped bring emancipation for the Jew? See Shapiro, chap. i.
6. Why is the Jew so bitter against political despotism and intellectual tyranny?
7. Do you consider Heinrich Heine a Jew? Give reasons for or against.
8. What is your opinion of the accuracy and interpretation of Israel Zangwill's picture of Heine ("From a Mattress Grave") in *Dreamers of the Ghetto,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1898?
9. Was Gabriel Riesser right in believing that the Jewish Question was tied up with the larger issue of representative free government? Among the Jews in the Germanic lands who were profoundly influenced by Riesser's writings was the young Bohemian Isaac M. Wise who later migrated to the United States and organized the Reform Movement in Judaism in this country. See J. R. Marcus, *The Americanization of Isaac Mayer Wise,* Cincinnati, 1931, pp. 5-6.
10. How would you account for the fact that it was the Junkers, who always claimed to be the best of Germans, who objected to the unification of Germany on a democratic basis? What did they have to lose?
11. Write a paper on the struggle of the German Jews for emancipation, 1815-1871.
12. Why did the Jews continue to vote with the liberal parties after 1871?
13. Why did the Prussians refuse to appoint confessing Jews to positions of trust in the government? What made them acceptable as soon as they were converted to Christianity?
14. Stahl and Disraeli are respectively the real founders of the conservative parties in Germany and England. Compare their

teachings and explain why Disraeli was more sympathetic to the Jews. See Jacobs, pp. 305 ff. The standard biography on Disraeli is the six volume work of Monypenny and Buckle. There are smaller biographies by George Brandes, Edward Clarke, J. A. Froude, D. Murray, and E. Raymond. Consult also the articles on Disraeli and Stahl in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and in other encyclopedias.

15. When Eduard Lasker died during a visit to the United States, the House of Representatives passed a resolution of condolence and forwarded it to Bismarck that it might be turned over to the Reichstag. The Iron Chancellor refused to accept it charging that it contained a criticism of the German government. Can you find any reference to this episode in your local newspaper files for the period January-March, 1884?
16. Why did Bismarck not want Germany to become a liberal republic?
17. What probably induced Karl Marx's father to baptize his son?
18. Genealogists have shown that Karl Marx is a descendant of Saul Wahl who, as the legend would have it, was "king of Poland for a day." Gustav Karpeles in "A Jewish King in Poland" *(Jewish Literature and Other Essays)* tells the story of this famous seventeenth-century Polish Jewish capitalist.
19. Read and discuss Karl Marx "On the Jewish Question." Is there something implicit in the theory of socialism which makes it hostile to Judaism, to any religion?
20. Compare and comment on the fictional biographies of Lassalle in Zangwill's *Dreamers of the Ghetto,* "The People's Savior" and George Meredith's *The Tragic Comedians,* New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1898.
21. How would you account for the intense patriotism of the German Jews? What relationship does this bear to their long, hard struggle for the rights of citizenship?
22. Why did even the socialists hesitate to nominate Jews for elective offices?

23. How can people who believe that Jews control the gold supply reconcile this belief with the stark poverty of millions of Jews in Eastern Europe and the Near East? Read the article "Poverty" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*
24. In what way could the czarist regime hope to profit by leading the suffering Russian Christian masses in 1917 to believe that their troubles were due to the Jews rather than to bad government?
25. Why were the Hitlerites so insistent on holding the Jews responsible for the creation of the Republic? How much truth is there in the assertion?
26. Why is the press so important in a democratic state? What do the Hitlerites hope to accomplish by removing "Jewish influence" over the press? What effect has the Nazi censorship of the press had upon German public opinion? Upon public opinion in other countries?

CHAPTERS VIII-IX

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF GERMAN JEWRY

THE MYTH OF JEWISH ECONOMIC DOMINANCE

Ruppin, Arthur, *The Jews in the Modern World,* London: The Macmillan Company, 1934, chap. viii: "Economic Changes in the Position of the Jews Since the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century"; chap. ix: "Occupations and Income"; chap. xi: "The Jews in Handicrafts and Industry"; chap. xii: "The Jews in Commerce"; chap. xiii: "The Jews in Public Services and the Liberal Professions."

Supplementary Readings

HOW THE MEDIEVAL GERMAN JEW MADE A LIVING

Abrahams, Israel, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,* ed. by Cecil Roth, London: Edward Goldston, Ltd., 1932, chaps. xi-xii: "Trades and Occupations." These chapters deal with the economic life of the medieval Jew without specific reference to Germany.

Ashley, W. J., *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory,* Part II, *The End of the Middle Ages,* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893, chap. vi: "The Canonist Doctrine."

Freimann, A., and F. Kracauer, *Frankfort,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1929, chaps. ii-iii; vi-vii.

Jacobs, Joseph, *Jewish Contributions to Civilization,* Philadelphia: The Jewish

Publication Society of America, 1919, chap. vi: "Jews and Commerce."

J.E., "Commerce," pp. 188 ff; "Usury," pp. 390 f.

THE WEALTHY JEW IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Elwenspoek, Curt, *Jew Süss Oppenheimer*, London: Hurst & Blackett, 1931. A rather lurid biography, but nonetheless informative. There is a huge literature in German on Oppenheimer. The standard biography is that of Selma Stern, *Jud Süss*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929. There is also a film version of Feuchtwanger's *Power*.

Jacobs, chap. vii: "Jews and Capitalism."

J.E., "Court Jews"; "Oppenheimer, Joseph Süss."

Lowenthal, Marvin, *The Memoirs of Glückel of Hameln*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932. This delightful autobiography is full of material throwing light on the economic life of the Jew in Central Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is an interesting appreciation of Glückel in S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, Second Series, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1908, pp. 126-147. Almost everything that Schechter has written is worth reading.

HOW THE POOR JEW MADE A LIVING BEFORE THE AGE OF EMANCIPATION

J.E., "Artisans," p. 154; "Hawkers and Pedlers," pp. 268 f.

JEWS AS BANKERS

Corti, Egon Caesar, *The Rise of the House of Rothschild*, New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1928.

———, *The Reign of the House of Rothschild*, New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1928.

Einzig, Paul, "The Jews and German Finance," *The Jewish Review* (London), June-September, 1933, pp. 78-82. A short review by an authority.

JEWS IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Cohen, Israel, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1929, pp. 159 ff.

J.E., "Loewe, Ludwig"; "Rathenau, Walther"; "Strousberg, Bethel Henry."

Ruppin, Arthur, *The Jews of To-Day*, London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1913, chap. iii: "Economic Progress of the Jews." This chapter has material on pre-War Jewry.

Wile, Frederic William, *Men Around the Kaiser*, London: William Heinemann, 1913. chap. ii: "Alfred [Albert] Ballin: Merchant of Hamburg"; chap. ix: "Emil Rathenau: Engineer, Electrician, and Financier." For Emil Rathenau consult also Harry Kessler, *Walther Rathenau*.

THE OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN OF GERMAN JEWRY IN 1925

Hoover, Calvin B., *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, chap. i: "The Economic System in Germany before National Socialism."

J.E., "Occupations," pp. 373 f. Contains statistics for the nineteenth century.

Jewish Review, The, September-December, 1933, contains the following valuable articles: "The Economic Position of the German Jews," pp. 32-37; "The Occupational Distribution of the German Jews," pp. 38-43, and "Jews in the Professions in Germany," pp. 54-61.

Lazare, Bernard, *Antisemitism: Its History and Causes*, New York: International Library Publishing Company, 1903, chap. xiv: "The Economic Causes of Antisemitism."

Ruppin, *The Jews of To-Day*, chap. iii: "The Economic Progress of the Jews." Contains material on the pre-War occupational pattern of German Jewry.

Wertheimer, Mildred S., "The Jews in the Third Reich," *Foreign Policy Reports*, IX, No. 16, October 11, 1933, pp. 177 f.

Topics for Study, Discussion, and Papers

1. Why did the medieval Jew turn to money-lending?
2. Why did Jews have their own bakers, tailors, and butchers? Consult the article "Sha'atnez" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*
3. Why did the medieval Church forbid the taking of interest? Consult the articles "Interest" and "Usury" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia.*
4. Discuss the influence of the Black Death persecutions on the Jews. Consult Graetz, H., History of the Jews, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1894, Vol. IV, chap. iv; Johannes Nohl, *The Black Death,* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926, pp. 181-206, and the article "Black Death" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*
5. What constituted the economic contribution of the medieval German Jew?
6. What were the economic activities of Israel Jacobson? Consult J. R. Marcus, "Israel Jacobson," *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XXXVIII (1928), pp. 386 ff.
7. Write a paper on the contribution of the Jews to the rise of capitalism. Consult Werner Sombart, *Jews and Modern Capitalism,* London: T. F. Unwin, 1913; Jacobs, *Jewish Contributions to Civilization,* chap. viia: "Excursus on Sombart."
8. What was the economic function and contribution of the peddler?
9. Write a theme on the influence of the Rothschilds in international finance in the first half of the nineteenth century. Consult Corti.
10. Are there any Jews in the United States, or in your city, who direct the fortunes of any of the larger joint-stock banks?
11. Has the Jew no alternative between that of complete assimilation and rigid "racial" segregation? Can he remain a good Jew and a devoted follower of the culture of the land of his birth?

12. What is the Jewish Agency for Palestine? Consult the Index of Norman Bentwich, *England in Palestine,* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, 1932, and Fannie Fern Andrews, *The Holy Land under Mandate,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931.
13. Interesting parallels here in the United States to the daring speculative activities of Strousberg are treated by the Beards in *The Rise of American Civilization,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, chap. xx: "The Triumph of Business Enterprise," and by Gustavus Myers in his three volume *History of the Great American Fortunes,* Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1907-1910. The history of the Gould and Vanderbilt fortunes are particularly interesting.
14. Why were there so many Jewish lawyers and doctors in Berlin?
15. How would you account for the small number of Jewish teachers in the public schools in Germany?
16. Is there any economic discrimination against Jews in the United States? Consult Broun and Britt, *Christians Only,* New York: Vanguard Press, 1931. There is a bibliography on this subject in Bruno Lasker, *Jewish Experiences in America,* New York: The Inquiry, 1930, pp. 197-199.
17. Do you think the Jew ought to return to the soil? Why? What factors have influenced the absence of Jews from agriculture until recent times? Do you think that the entrance of the Jew in larger numbers into the fields of agriculture and industry will lessen anti-Semitism? Why?
18. Wherein does the occupational pattern of the German Jew differ from that of the non-Jew? How can these differences be accounted for? Does the situation in this country reflect the same differences? To what is this attributable?
19. Wherein does the social distribution of the Jew differ from that of the non-Jew in Germany? How can these differences be accounted for?

20. Why are there so many Jewish intellectuals and professional men? Is this condition limited to Germany or does it prevail in other countries? Is this situation conducive to healthy relations between Jews and non-Jews, or should Jews make an effort to change it?
21. There was a strong feeling of antipathy to the Jew in certain quarters after the Liberation Wars of 1813-1815, after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, and after the World War of 1914-1918. Is there any relation between wars and "racial" prejudice?
22. What motivates the agitation against the chain store system in this land? What solutions have been suggested for this problem? What steps have been taken in this country toward a solution?
23. Who were the real gainers by the German inflation? What had the Jews to gain? To lose?
24. Why should the large corporations and trusts look askance at Jewish employees? Is there anything in the psyche of the Jew that makes him less desirable than others?

CHAPTERS X-XV

THE LITERARY ACTIVITY OF THE GERMAN JEW
THE GERMAN JEW IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
GERMAN JEWS AS SCIENTISTS
THE JEW IN GERMAN MUSIC
THE JEW AND THE ART OF GERMANY
JEWS AS NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS

Myerson, A., and I. Goldberg, *The German Jews,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933. This work of Myerson and Goldberg presents a rounded out picture of the participation of the Jew in the culture of contemporary Germany.

Supplementary Readings

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Hühner, Leon, "The Jew in German Literature," *Judaean Addresses,* Vol. IV, New York: Bloch Publishing Company,

1933. Hühner's address covers the whole field of German literature.

J.E., "Judaeo-German Literature."

Karpeles, Gustav, *Jewish Literature and Other Essays*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1895, "Jewish Troubadours and Minnesingers." This chapter contains an interesting description of the Jewish Minnesinger, Süsskind von Trimberg, pp. 182 ff.

Posner, Arthur, "Literature for Jewish Women in Medieval and Later Times," in *The Jewish Library*, Series III, ed. by Leo Jung, New York: The Jewish Library Publishing Co., 1934, chap. ix.

Waxman, Meyer, *A History of Jewish Literature*, New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1933, II, chap. xii: "Judaeo-German Literature."

MENDELSSOHN AND HIS INFLUENCE

Graetz, H., *History of the Jews*, Phila.: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1895, Vol. V, chap. viii: "The Mendelssohn Epoch"; chap. x: "The Measfim and the Judaeo-Christian Salon."

J.E., "Herz, Henriette"; "Lessing"; "Levin, Rahel"; "Mendelssohn, Moses."

Karpeles, *Jewish Literature and Other Essays*, "Jewish Society in the Time of Mendelssohn," pp. 293 ff.

Key, Ellen, *Rahel Varnhagen: A Portrait*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

Mayer, Hebe Rahel, "Art and the Jewish Woman," in *The Jewish Library*, Series III, chap. xii.

Walter, H., *Moses Mendelssohn*, New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1930.

JEWISH WRITERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

For Börne and Heine see the bibliography in chap. ii.

THE GHETTO NOVELISTS

J.E., "Auerbach, Berthold"; "Bernstein, Aaron"; "Franzos, Karl Emil"; Kompert, Leopold."

Philipson, David, *Old European Jewries*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1894, chap. ix: "The Ghetto in Literature."

THE SOUTH GERMAN WRITERS

"German Literature from 1880 to 1931," in *Germany, A Companion to German Studies*, ed. by Jethro Bithell, New York: Lincoln Macveagh, 1932, chap. viii.

Grubwieser, V., "The Jewish Contribution to Modern German Literature," *Jewish Review*, June-September, 1933, pp. 45-51.

Lewisohn, Ludwig, *Cities and Men*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927, "Martin Buber," pp. 200-212.

Liptzin, Sol, *Arthur Schnitzler*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932.

Willoughby, L. A., "German Literature from 1805 to 1880," in Bithell, *Germany*, chap. vii.

THE EXPRESSIONISTS

Gooch, George P. *Germany*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, chap. xv: "The German Mind," contains material on Ernst Toller and other writers.

Toller, Ernst, *I Was a German*, New York: William Morrow & Co., 1934.

THE STAGE

J.E., "Brahm, Otto"; "L'Arronge, Adolf."

Myerson and Goldberg, chap. ix: "Drama and Stage-Cinema."

Rubinstein, H. F., "The Jew in the German Theatre," *Jewish Review*, June-September, 1933, pp. 58-65.

Wile, Frederic William, *Men Around the Kaiser*, London: William Heinemann, 1913, chap. xi: "Max Reinhardt: Stage Reformer."

THE GERMAN JEW IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

J.E,, "Bendavid, Lazarus"; "Benfey, Theodor"; "Bernheim, Ernst"; "Cohen, Hermann"; "Freund, Wilhelm"; "Friedländer, Ludwig"; "Gans, Eduard"; "Geiger, Ludwig"; "Goldschmidt, Levin"; "Goldstücker, Theodor"; "Herz, Markus"; "Hirsch, Theodor"; "Hirschfeld, Otto"; "Jaffé, Philipp"; "Lazarus, Moritz"; "Liebermann, Felix"; "Maimon, Solomon"; "Neander, Johann August Wilhelm"; "Philippson, Alfred"; "Philippson, Martin"; "Sanders, Daniel"; "Steinthal, Hermann"; "Stern, Alfred."

Jolowicz, H. F., "The Jewish Contributions to Law," *Jewish Review*, June-September, 1933, pp. 71-77.

Jones, W. Tudor, *Contemporary Thought of Germany*, 2 vols., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930-1931. An authoritative study devoting itself particularly to the leaders in modern German philosophic thinking.

Maimon, Solomon, *An Autobiography*, Boston: Cupples and Hurd, 1888.

Myerson and Goldberg, chap. vi: "Philosophers and Mathematicians," pp. 82-94.

Roback, A. A., *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought*, Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1929, chap. ix: "Is Psychoanalysis a Jewish Movement?"; chap. x: "Jewish Founders of New Psychological Movement *(Gestaltpsychologie)*"; chap. xvii: "Moses Mendelssohn"; chap. xviii: "Kant and Mendelssohn"; chap. xix: "Kant and the Appointment of Jewish Professors"; chap. xx: "Kant and His Jewish Correspondents"; chap. xxi: "Kant and Judaism"; chap. xxii: "The Deepest Man in Germany (Husserl)."

Rose, William, *Men, Myths, and Movements in German Literature*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, "Goethe and the Jews," pp. 157-180.

Waldman, M. *Goethe and the Jews*, New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1934.

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J.E., "Berliner, Emil."

PHYSICISTS AND MATHEMATICIANS

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J.E., "Cantor, Georg"; "Cantor, Moritz"; "Jacobi, Karl"; "Kronecker, Leopold"; "Lipschitz, Rudolf"; "Mathematics," pp. 377-378; "Michelson, Albert A."; "Schlesinger, Ludwig."

Levy, H., "The Physical Sciences," *Jewish Review*, June-September, 1933, pp. 30-35.

Myerson and Goldberg, pp. 57-77.

Reiser, Anton, *Albert Einstein*, New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1930.

Roback, A. A., chap. xiv: "Jews as Scientific Editors."

BOTANISTS AND BACTERIOLOGISTS

J.E., "Cohn, Ferdinand Julius"; "Pringsheim, Nathaniel."

CHEMISTS

Adler, S., "The Jewish Contribution to Applied Science," *Jewish Review*, June-September, 1933, pp. 36-37.

J.E., "Meyer, Victor."

Meyerson and Goldberg, pp. 77-81.

THE GERMAN JEW IN MEDICINE

Friedenwald, A., "Jewish Physicians and Contributions of Jews to the Science of Medicine," *Publications of the Gratz College*, Philadelphia, 1897, I, pp. 158-165.

Goldsmith, Margaret, "Paul Ehrlich" in Hector Bolitho, *Twelve Jews*, London: Rich & Cowan, 1934.

J.E., "Boas, I(s)mar"; "Cohn, Hermann L."; "Cohnheim, Julius"; "Ehrlich, Paul"; "Fränkel, Albert"; "Henle, F. G. J."; "Henoch, Eduard Heinrich"; "Minkowski, Oscar"; "Neisser, Albert"; "Schiff, Mori(t)z"; "Stilling, Benedikt"; "Traube, Ludwig."

Wile, *Men Around the Kaiser*, chap. xxx: "Paul Ehrlich: Fighter of Disease."

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Medical Science," *Jewish Review*, June-September, 1933, pp. 38-44.

GERMAN JEWISH EXPLORERS

J.E., "Emin Pasha"; "Glaser, Eduard."

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THE JEW IN GERMAN MUSIC

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J.E., "Goldmark, Karl"; "Joachim, Joseph"; "Levi, Hermann"; "Mahler, Gustav"; "Mendelssohn, Felix"; "Meyerbeer, Giacomo"; "Moscheles, Ignaz"; "Offenbach, Jacques"; "Tausig, Carl"; "Wagner, Wilhelm Richard."

Jewish Factors in Western Civilization, A Syllabus, New York: The Intercollegiate Menorah Association, 1922, "Jews and Music," pp. 12-14.

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WAGNER, RICHARD, *Judaism in Music*, London: William Reeves, 1910.

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COLLMAN, SOPHIE M., *Jews in Art*, Cincinnati: S. Bacharach, 1909. This book is written primarily for children. It contains biographies and illustrations of the work of Veit, Bendemann, Lilien, and Liebermann.

HANCKE, ERICH, *Max Liebermann: Sein Leben und Seine Werke*, Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1914. Contains many illustrations of Liebermann's work.

J.E., "Ark of the Law, Architecturally Considered"; "Art, Attitude of Judaism Toward"; "Bendemann, Eduard Julius Friedrich"; "Cemetery"; "Crown of the Law"; "Cup"; "Habdalah"; "Haggadah" pp. 144-146; "Ketubah", p. 478; "Liebermann, Max"; "Mantle of the Law"; "Medals"; "Oppenheim, Moritz Daniel"; "Scroll of the Law"; "Synagogues"; "Synagogue Architecture"; "Title-Page"; "Tombstones"; "Veit, Johannes"; "Veit, Philipp"; "Yad."

Jewish Factors in Western Civilization, "Jews in Painting, Sculpture, etc.," pp. 14-16.

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LEVUSSOVE, M. S., *The New Art of an Ancient People: The Work of Ephraim Mose Lilien*, New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1906.

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MYERSON AND GOLDBERG, pp. 114-118.

WILE, *Men Around the Kaiser*, chap. xx: "Max Liebermann: The German Millet."

There is a great deal of material on modern Jewish art and artists scattered throughout the *Menorah Journal*. Students who have access to large libraries—such as the Hebrew Union College Library in Cincinnati, the Jewish Theological Seminary Library, and other large New York libraries—will enjoy the Jewish art magazine *Rimon* or *Milgroim* (Berlin, 1922-1924) and *Das Zelt* (Vienna, 1924). *Ost und West* (Berlin, 1901-1923) and *Die Menorah* (Vienna, 1923-1932) also have much material on Jewish art and artists.

JEWS AS NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS

ROBACK, A. A., chap. xi: "Jews and the Nobel Prize." Roback's essays are always interesting and full of sound information.

RUPPIN, ARTHUR, *The Jews of To-Day*, London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1913, chap. xiv: "Cultural Value of the Jews."

Topics for Study, Discussion, and Papers

1. Write a theme on the backward character of Jewish pedagogy as reflected in the writings of Glückel of Hameln and Solomon Maimon.
2. How accurate are Israel Zangwill's pictures of Solomon Maimon and Moses Mendelssohn ("Maimon the Fool and Nathan the Wise") in *Dreamers of the Ghetto*?
3. Read and report on Abram S. Isaacs, *Step by Step: A Story of the Early Days of Moses Mendelssohn;* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1929. This work is primarily intended for juveniles.
4. Why is the Jew so sympathetic to the concept of the absolute divorce between Church and State?
5. What did Mendelssohn and Lessing have in common? Consult George Alexander Kohut's edition of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise,* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1917. Chapter II deals with the relations between Lessing and Mendelssohn.
6. Why were women like Henriette Herz and Rahel Levin not interested in Judaism? If they were alive today, would they be more likely to be interested? Give reasons.
7. Heine is disliked by many Germans today. How would you account for this?
8. Write a book review of Ludwig Diehl, *The Sardonic Smile,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, a fictional biography of Heine, and compare it with the biography by Ezra Brudno, *The Sublime Jester,* New York: Nicholas L. Brown, 1924. Check the authenticity of the material in both fictional works in some standard history of Heine, H. Walter's, for instance.
9. Why did Berthold Auerbach think his life was shattered when the anti-Semites called him an "alien" writer?
10. Present a picture of Jewish life and its problems in the early

nineteenth century as reflected in Leopold Kompert, *Christian & Leah & Other Ghetto Stories,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1895.

11. Discuss the religious views of Aaron Bernstein as reflected in David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, chap. viii. Consult the Index under "Bernstein" and "Rebenstein." There is a critical estimate of the Berlin Reform Congregation with which Bernstein was affiliated in Graetz, V, chap. xviii.
12. In what respect is Jakob Wassermann Jewish? Read his *Dark Pilgrimage,* New York: Liveright, 1933; *My Life as German and Jew,* New York: Coward-McCann, 1933.
13. What attitude, if any, toward the Jewish problem is reflected by Brod in *Reubeni?* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928.)
14. Write a theme on Arthur Schnitzler's attitude to the Jew, anti-Semitism, and Zionism as reflected in *The Road to the Open*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923, and *The Anti-Semites* (Professor Bernhardi), Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Co. (Ten-cent pocket series, No. 226.)
15. Is there anything Jewish about the character of Professor Bernhardi in Schnitzler's drama, *The Anti-Semites?*
16. What is Franz Werfel's attitude to Jewry of the first century as reflected in *Paul Among the Jews?* There is an English translation of this play by Paul Levertoff in *The Menorah Journal,* XV (1928), September, October, November.
17. Write a theme on Goethe and his relation to the Jews. In addition to William Rose's essay, "Goethe and the Jews," use Graetz, V, pp. 307; 409; 461; Marcus, "Israel Jacobson," *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XXXVIII (1928), p. 419, and M. Waldman, *Goethe and the Jews.*
18. Write a theme on the idealism of Ernst Toller as reflected in his autobiography, *I Was a German.*
19. Is there anything in the spirit or nature of the Jew that makes

him sympathetic to new ideas and new currents of thought? Has he more perspective? Can we generalize?

20. Discuss the early struggle of Solomon Maimon as reflected in his autobiography.
21. What are the reasons that Jews are interested in exploring and traveling?
22. The interest of Jews today in the Olympic games is paralleled to a certain extent by the interest shown by Herod the Great almost two thousand years ago. Consult Josephus *Jewish Antiquities,* XVI, 5. 3. To what factors can both of these tendencies be attributed?
23. Is it at all significant that both Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn-Bartholdy were the sons of wealthy bankers?
24. Is there such a thing as Jewish music? Consult A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music,* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929.
25. Why was the medieval Jew not particularly interested in the graphic and plastic arts?
26. Why was it difficult for Jewish artists in the Middle Ages to learn the technique of their craft?
27. What objects in a synagogue offer opportunity for artistic expression?
28. Why, according to some authorities, has it been difficult for Jews to enter the plastic arts?
29. What conclusions might be drawn from the relatively large number of Jewish Nobel laureates in Germany?
30. To what extent are the notable Jewish scientists of Germany religiously Jewish?
31. What does Germany stand to gain culturally by the exclusion of the Jews from German cultural life? What does she stand to lose?
32. Will the Jew gain or lose culturally through his exclusion from German cultural life?
33. Hugo Bettauer has written *The City Without Jews,* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1926. In this work of

fiction he attempts to show what would happen to Vienna if the Jews were expelled from the city. To what extent have his conclusions actually been borne out by conditions in present day Germany? Bettauer was fatally wounded by anti-Semites in Vienna, March 10, 1925, and died on the 26th.

CHAPTERS XVI-XIX

THE INNER LIFE OF JEWRY UNTIL 1933
YOUTH AND SCHOOLS IN GERMANY JEWRY
THE PROBLEM OF A SPECIFIC JEWISH CULTURE
OTHER ASPECTS OF JEWISH LIFE IN GERMANY

THE FAITH OF THE MEDIEVAL GERMAN JEW, 1000 TO 1700

ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL, *Hebrew Ethical Wills*, 2 vols., Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1926, Nos. VI; X; XIII-XV; XVII-XVIII. These ethical wills constitute some of the finest spiritual treasures of medieval Jewry.

———, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Cecil Roth, London: Edward Goldston, Ltd., 1932, chap. v: "Social Morality," is particularly interesting.

FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages*, New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1924, chaps. ii-vii.

GEIGER, ABRAHAM, *Judaism and Its History*, New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1911, "In Germany and France," pp. 354-368. A study of rabbinic literature in the early Middle Ages.

HALPER, B., *Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature*, An Anthology, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1921, Vol. II, pp. 162 ff; 167 ff. Ethical writings of two famous mystics.

HERFORD, R. TRAVERS, "The Influence of Judaism upon Jews," in *The Legacy of Israel*, ed. by Bevan and Singer, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927, pp. 97-128.

Jewish Encyclopedia, "Horowitz, Isaiah."

LOWENTHAL, MARVIN, *A World Passed By: Scenes and Memories of Jewish Civilization in Europe and North Africa*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933. Chaps. xv-xix constitute a pleasant introduction to the life of the medieval German Jew.

SCHECHTER, S., *Studies in Judaism*, Third Series, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1924, "Jewish Saints in Medieval Germany," pp. 1-24.

WAXMAN, MEYER, *History of Jewish Literature*, Vol. II, chap. vii: "German Type of Kabbala," pp. 344-351.

THE GEMEINDE (COMMUNITY) AND ITS ORGANIZATION

COHEN, ISRAEL, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1929, pp. 29-36.

J.E., "Berlin," pp. 76-77; "Community, Organization of"; "Gemeindebund Deutsch-Israelitischer."

RUPPIN, ARTHUR, *The Jews in the Modern World*, London: Macmillan and Co., 1934, pp. 343 ff.

THE CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION OF JEWISH RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN GERMANY

Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* pp. 247-267.

Elbogen, Ismar, *History of the Jews,* Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1926, pp. 190-202.

Heller, Max, "Samson Raphael Hirsch, in Honor of the Centenary of His Birth," *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XVIII (1908), pp. 179 ff.

Hirsch, Samson Raphael, *The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel,* New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1899. These letters, first published in 1836, present the religious philosophy of the founder of neo-Orthodoxy.

J.E., "Hirsch, Samson Raphael."

Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World,* pp. 339 ff. It might be pointed out that Ruppin has very little sympathy for Liberal Judaism.

Philipson, David, *The Reform Movement in Judaism,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, describes in detail the history of Reform in Germany.

JEWISH INSTITUTIONS OF A GERMAN-NATIONAL CHARACTER

J.E., "Verein zur Abwehr des Anti-Semitismus."

ZIONISM IN GERMANY

Hess, Moses, *Rome and Jerusalem: A Study in Jewish Nationalism,* New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1918.

J.E., "Herzl, Theodor"; "Hess, Moses"; "Zionism."

Stein, Leonard, *Zionism,* 2nd ed., London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1932. A good brief and authoritative account of the Zionist movement.

Weltsch, Robert, "Zionism in Central Europe" in *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial,* ed. by Weisgal, New York, 1929, pp. 240-245. This Herzl memorial volume contains a number of excellent essays on modern Jewish history.

JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE

J. E., "Charity-Modern Times." This article contains some material on the social welfare agencies of Germany a generation ago (1902). For the Alliance consult *J.E.,* "Alliance Israélite Universelle" and "The Alliance Israélite Universelle" in the *American Jewish Year Book,* II (1900-1901), pp. 45-65.

Annual reports of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee may be secured from its central offices at 7 Hanover Street, New York City.

For the ORT and the OZE, see Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* pp. 75; 169; Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World,* pp. 264-266.

JEWISH SECULAR SCHOOLS IN GERMANY

"Jewish School Questions in Germany" in *Jewish Review,* September-December, 1933, pp. 70-76.

THE JEWISH YOUTH MOVEMENT

Gooch, George P., *Germany,* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, chap. xiv: "Young Germany."

For a description of the *Kebuzah,* see Ruppin, Arthur, *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine,* London: Martin Hopkinson and Co., 1926, pp. 129-144 and Harry Viteles, "The Cooperative Movement," *Palestine: A Decade of Development,* pp. 127-138.

Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World,* pp. 356 ff., discusses youth organizations and fraternities.

JEWISH LEARNING BEFORE 1800

Bamberger, Bernard J., "The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Scholarship," *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XLII (1932), pp. 209-235.

Halper, *Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature,* Vol. II, pp. 176-182. This is an attack by Solomon ibn Adret on certain fields of secular learning.

Ginzberg, Louis, *Students, Scholars and Saints,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1928. Chap. vi describes the eighteenth century Rabbi Elijah Wilna, one of the few Jewish Talmudists whose work is characterized by elements of sound scholarship. There is also an essay on Elijah Wilna by S. Schechter in *Studies in Judaism,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1896, chap. iii.

J.E., "Adret, Solomon ben Abraham"; "Asher ben Jehiel."

Spiegel, Shalom, *Hebrew Reborn,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, chap. ii: "A Messiah (Moses Hayyim Luzzatto)"; chap. iii: "A Hunchbacked Philosopher (Moses Mendelssohn)."

LEOPOLD ZUNZ

"Baruch, S." [A.S.Oko], "Leopold Zunz-Humanist," *Menorah Journal,* IX (1923), February, June, August.

J.E., "Zunz, Leopold"; "Friedländer, David"; "Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden." Friedländer was one of those who believed that a sharp break with the past was advisable. Consult for Zunz and Friedländer, Graetz, H., *History of the Jews,* The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1895, Vol. V, chaps. x; xv-xvi.

Karpeles, Gustav, *Jewish Literature and Other Essays,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1895, "Leopold Zunz," pp. 318-339.

Schechter, *Studies in Judaism,* Third Series, "Leopold Zunz," pp. 84-142.

THE PIONEERS OF THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

J. E., "Güdemann, Moritz"; "Krochmal, Nachman Kohen"; "Luzzatto, Samuel David"; "Rapoport, Solomon Judah Löb"; "Reggio, Isaac Samuel"; "Steinschneider, Moritz."

Schechter, *Seminary Addresses and Other Papers,* Cincinnati: Ark Publishing Co., 1915, "The Beginnings of Jewish 'Wissenschaft'" and "Moritz Steinschneider," pp. 173-193; pp. 119-124.

———, *Studies in Judaism,* First Series, chap. ii: "Nachman Krochmal and the *Perplexities of the Time.*"

Spiegel, *Hebrew Reborn,* chap. iv: "A Philologist (Samuel David Luzzatto)"; chap. v: "A Galician Socrates (Krochmal)."

THE MIGRATION OF GERMAN JEWISH SCHOLARS

Deutsch, G., "Solomon Munk," in *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XIII (1903), pp. 339-346.

J.E., "Derenburg, Joseph"; "Deutsch, Emanuel"; "Oppert, Jules"; "Munk, Salomon"; "Zedner, Joseph."

THE HISTORIANS

Bloch, P., "Memoir of Heinrich Graetz," in Graetz, *History of the Jews,* Vol. VI, pp. 1-86.

Deutsch, G., "Heinrich Graetz," *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XXVII (1917), pp. 338-364.

J.E., "Dubnow, Simon"; "Graetz, Heinrich."

Marx, Alexander, "Aims and Tasks of Jewish Historiography," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* XXVI (1918), pp. 11-32.

———, "Societies for the Promotion of the Study of Jewish History," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* XX (1911), pp. 1-9.

THE SPREAD OF THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

Jacobs, Joseph, *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896, "Jewish History: Its Aim and Methods," pp. 234-242.

J.E., "Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur."

Freimann and Kracauer, *Frankfort,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1929, chap. xv: "Judaica in the Library of the City of Frankfort." *Frankfort* is the best English account of a German Jewish community.

SCHOOLS FOR SCHOLARS

Deutsch, "One Generation Goeth and Another Generation Cometh," "Reminiscences of the Breslau Seminary: Leyser Lazarus," "Freudenthal and the Breslau Seminary," in *Scrolls,* Vol. II, New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1917, pp. 257-266; pp. 267-278; pp. 279-286.

Ginzberg, *Students, Scholars and Saints,* chap. viii: "Zechariah Frankel," pp. 195-216. Frankel was the first president of the Breslau Theological Seminary and the founder of the Conservative movement in Judaism.

J.E., "Frankel, Zecharias"; "Geiger, Abraham."

Kohler, K., *Hebrew Union College and Other Addresses,* Cincinnati: Ark Publishing Co., 1916, chap. ix: "Abraham Geiger."

Philipson, David, "Abraham Geiger as Reformer," in *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XX (1910), pp. 246-283.

CHRISTIANS AND THE SCIENCE OF JUDAISM

Box, G. H., "Hebrew Studies in the Reformation Period and After: Their Place and Influence," in Bevan and Singer, *The Legacy of Israel,* pp. 315-375.

SPORTS

Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World,* chap. xvi: "Endeavors to Improve the Physical Standard."

JEWISH WOMEN IN GERMAN LIFE

Rabin, Else, "The Jewish Woman in Social Service in Germany," in *The Jewish Library,* Series Three, ed. by Leo Jung, New York: The Jewish Library Publishing Co., 1934, chap. xi.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS OF JEWS IN GERMANY

Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* pp. 80-85.

J.E., "Criminality," Jewish criminality in Germany in the nineteenth century.

The statistics for Jewish criminality in Germany are given in Ruppin, *The Jews of To-Day,* London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1913, pp. 220-226. The tables on pp. 222-223 are misleading. For example, the statement that Jews engaged in usury are 29.05 times more numerous than Christians does not mean that there were twenty-nine times as many convicted Jewish usurers as Christians. The figures here are comparative percentages based on population statistics. Actually, during the period under consideration (1903-1906), there was an annual average of five (5) convicted Jewish usurers for all of Germany over against seventeen (17) convicted non-Jewish usurers (Bruno Blau, "Die Kriminalität der Juden in Deutschland während der Jahr 1903-1906," in *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden,* V [1909], Nr. 4, pp. 49 ff).

THE "DECLINE" OF GERMAN JEWRY

"Age Distribution of German Jewry, The," *Jewish Review,* September-December, 1933, pp. 45-53.

Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* pp. 268-301, treats of the problems of apostasy, secession, intermarriage, assimilation, and conservation.

Ruppin, *The Jews of To-Day,* chap. i: "Review of Jewish Assimilation—Historical and Sociological"; chap. iv: "The Declining Birth Rate"; chap. vi: "Congestion in the Large Towns"; chap. vii: "Adoption of the Language of the Country"; chap. viii: "Adoption of Cosmopolitan Culture"; chap. ix: "Decreasing Importance of Religion"; chap. x: "Intermarriage"; chap. xi: "Baptism"; chap. xii: "Anti-Semitism an Ineffective Check to Assimilation." Despite the fact that Ruppin starts out with a preconceived notion—the Jews have no future as Jews in the Diaspora—his materials and his conclusions are interesting and provocative of thought.

———, *The Jews in the Modern World,* brings up to date the material of *The Jews of To-Day* which deals with pre-

War Jewry. The following chapters of this new book throw light on the numerical decline of German Jewry: chap. ii: "Number and Distribution of the Jews"; chap. iii: "Migration to the Cities"; chap. iv: "Jewish Migrations"; chap. v: "The Birth Rate"; chap. vi: "Mortality"; chap. vii: "Age and Natural Increase"; chap. xvii: "Assimilation and Its Effects"; chap, xviii: "The Breaking Up of the Unity of Language"; chap. xix: "Displacement of Jewish by Secular Education"; chap. xx: "Mixed Marriages and Baptisms."

TOPICS FOR STUDY, DISCUSSION, AND PAPERS

1. Discuss the heroism of the medieval Jew as reflected in Zunz's *Sufferings of the Jews during the Middle Ages,* New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1907; Halper, *Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature,* Vol. II, pp. 235-239, and Ludwig Lewisohn, *The Island Within,* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928, pp. 327-342. These chronicles incorporated by Lewisohn are authentic although they have been rearranged and edited considerably by him.
2. Write a theme on the ethical ideals of the medieval German Jews as reflected in their ethical wills. Consult Abrahams, *Hebrew Ethical Wills.*
3. Read the following juvenile tales of the Prague ghetto as illustrations of how early nineteenth century Jewry in the German lands envisaged its own medieval past: "The Ape and the Gold Pieces"; "The Massacre at Prague"; and "The Deliverer" in Wolf Paschels, *Jewish Legends of the Middle Ages* (London: Robert Scott).
4. What are some of the inner communal problems which the medieval German Jew had to face? Consult Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages,* chaps. ii-vii.
5. Read and report on Georg Hermann's *Hetty Geybert* (New York: George H. Doran, 1924) for a picture of Jewish life in bourgeois Berlin circles in the first half of the last century.
6. Is the Jew in the English-speaking lands *born* into an *official* Jewish community? What effect does this have upon the form and structure of Jewish communal organization in these lands?

7. What are the advantages of the *Gemeinde* form of organization? What are its disadvantages?
8. To what extent does the Stern plan for communal organization show any relation to the *Gemeinde* concept? Consult Horace Stern, *The Synagogue and Jewish Communal Activities,* Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1931; Mordecai M. Kaplan, "The Relation of the Synagog to Jewish Communal Life," in *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* XLII (1932), pp. 236 ff. How does Kaplan's plan differ from the Stern plan with reference to this question?
9. Who supports the Jewish social welfare agencies in your town? What are some of their most important problems? What could the German *Gemeinde* form of organization contribute to their effectiveness and support? How would you react to a movement to organize your own community on this plan?
10. What are the functions of the Synagogal Council of America? Consult *The Synagogue Council of America: Its Origin and Activities,* New York, 1931; "Synagogue Council of America" in the directory of Jewish national organizations of the current *American Jewish Year Book.*
11. If the Jewish *Gemeinde* were reorganized on a racial basis, could a Catholic of Jewish origin become a member of the community?
12. Discuss the differences as well as the similarities that characterize the various religious groups in present-day Germany. How does the religious structure of German Jewry compare with that of American Jewry?
13. Discuss the point of view of Samson Raphael Hirsch as reflected in *The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel.* Was there any American counterpart to this great Jewish leader? Among the Orthodox? Among the Conservatives? The Reform Jews?
14. What is Hasidism? Consult Schechter, *Studies in Judaism,*

chap. i: "The Chassidim." *Jewish Encyclopedia,* "Hasidim." What value has Hasidism to the modern Jew? What is its present status as a sect in Jewish life?

15. Discuss the charm of old-fashioned orthodoxy as reflected in the following works of fiction dealing with early and middle nineteenth century German Jewry: S. H. Mosenthal, *Stories of Jewish Home Life,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1907; Bernard Drachman, *From the Heart of Israel,* New York: James Pott & Co., 1905, pp. 1-83; 268-290; and Martha Wolfenstein, *Idyls of the Gass,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1929.
16. Do you think the neo-Orthodox followers of Samson Raphael Hirsch were justified in seceding and forming a Jewish community of their own? How could this problem which split the German community be handled if we were planning the organization of our Jewish communities in America as unified *Gemeinden?*
17. What religious group, in your opinion, has the most assured future in the Hitlerite Reich, the Liberals, the Community Orthodox, or the Secessionist Orthodox?
18. What is today the most important point of difference among the groups in Jewish communal politics in Germany? How does the American scene line up from this point of view?
19. Do you think that the opposition to the program of the Jewish People's Party is justified?
20. Is there an East European Jewish problem in America similar to that in Germany? What percentage of our Jewish population do East European Jews constitute? What measures have been taken and what institutions organized to handle the problems which arose out of the East European immigration? How does this group stand today in the structure of American Jewry? Consult *American Jewish Year Book,* XVI (1914-1915), pp. 339-378; XX (1918-1919), pp. 31-74; XXX (1928-1929), Note D, pp. 167-170.

21. Do you think the Zionists in Germany are responsible in any degree for the Hitlerian anti-Semitism? If so, how did the Hitlerites express their sympathy for the Jews who were anti-Zionistic? On the other hand, what elements of strength did Zionism contribute in the present German situation?
22. Have we anything in the United States like the Society for Combatting Anti-Semitism? Look at the signatures following "The Peril of Racial Prejudice" in the *American Jewish Year Book,* XXIV (1922-1923), pp. 332-338.
23. How many American Jewish societies can you name that are doing the same type of work as the Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith? Consult *The American Jewish Committee: Twenty-Seventh Annual Report,* New York, 1934, pp. 44 ff. This report is also incorporated in the *American Jewish Year Book,* XXXVI (1934-1935). Consult also the directory of Jewish national organizations in the current issue of the *American Jewish Year Book.*
24. Write a theme outlining the Zionist philosophy of Moses Hess as reflected in *Rome and Jerusalem.*
25. The National Association of Jewish Front-Line Soldiers was compelled to organize because of anti-Jewish prejudice. What prompted the organization of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States? Consult the pamphlet by Julius S. Berg, *Jewish War Veterans of the United States,* 2nd ed., New York, 1929. The Veterans also publish a magazine called the *Jewish Veteran.* What work does the American organization do?
26. Who do you think has the best solution for the Jewish Problem in Germany, the Central Union or the Zionists? Give reasons.
27. Why did the Dreyfus case help make a Zionist of Herzl? Read "Paris, 1891-1895" by Pierre van Paassen and "The Fateful Moment: the Birth of Herzl's Zionism" by Hermann Bahr in *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial,* pp. 37-39; 67-68.

To what extent is it true that pressure from without is the most powerful force for keeping Jews Jewish? Is this a desirable thing?

28. What was the significance of David Wolffsohn for the Zionist movement? To what extent is Wolffsohn's position still prevalent in the movement today?
29. What Jewish socialist and Jewish orthodox party in Germany is aligned with the Zionist movement? What is the alignment in the United States on the question of Zionism among the various religious groups? What trends have the last two decades evinced in this respect?
30. What has Zionism done for the Jew in Germany?
31. Why did the German Jews establish parochial schools? Were the same reasons operative in the formation of the existing Jewish parochial schools in the United States? Should the parochial system be advocated or opposed in America? What arguments can be offered on this question? What is the percentage of Jewish children who attend parochial schools in Germany? In the United States? Consult for the United States, "The Communal Organization of the Jews in the United States, 1927," *American Jewish Year Book*, XXXI (1929-1930), p. 149.
32. How can the public school instruction affect the Jewish sympathies and interests of the Jewish children? To what extent is this a problem in American schools?
33. Is there anything in America comparable to the German Youth Movement? Is the Boy Scout movement comparable? Consult the *Youth Leader: A Monthly Magazine for Jewish Clubs* which is published by the Department of Synagogue and School Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Cincinnati. What are the advantages and disadvantages of such a movement?
34. What are some of the ideals of the various German Jewish youth groups?

35. What, in a positive way, have the Jewish youth clubs accomplished in Germany?
36. The first Jewish fraternity in this country was also Zionistic. This was the Zeta Beta Tau (*Ziyyon Bemishpat Tippadeh,* "Zion shall be redeemed with justice"). To what extent is this Greek letter fraternity still Zionistic? To what extent are the Jewish fraternities in the United States Jewish?
37. What events brought to birth the first Jewish fraternities in Germany?
38. What motivated the Jewish students to take up dueling? Evaluate this motive and its effects upon Jewish status.
39. Have we any Jewish student associations that are primarily interested in Jewish studies? Describe them.
40. What is the Science of Judaism?
41. What prompted Solomon ben Abraham ibn Adret to ban the study of some of the sciences? Consult Marx and Margolis, *A History of the Jewish People,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1927, chap. lv.
42. How did Zunz expect the Science of Judaism to improve the relations between Jew and Gentile? How would it help the Jew to be a better Jew?
43. Prior to the appearance of Zunz what was the universal language of Jewish scholars?
44. What is the importance of Leopold Zunz?
45. Steinschneider made a catalogue of the Hebrew printed books in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. How did such a magnificent Hebrew library ever get to this university? Consult "Bodleian Library"; "Oppenheim, David ben Abraham" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*
46. What was Zunz's reaction when he was told that Graetz was writing a Jewish history? Consult Graetz, Vol. VI, p. 60.
47. What is the Academy for the Science of Judaism?
48. What prompted American Jewry to publish the *Jewish Encyclopedia?* Consult the Preface to the first volume, pp. vii-ix.

49. Why are Christian scholars interested in rabbinic literature?
50. How has Zionism been influenced by the Science of Judaism?
51. Has the Science of Judaism a future in Germany under the National Socialists? Why?
52. Who was James Simon?
53. Why is it necessary to provide special Jewish welfare agencies for Jews? Why can they not resort to the general social welfare agencies of the state?
54. Report on Shmarya Levin's account of the East European trek through Germany in the 'nineties in his *Youth in Revolt,* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930, pp. 250 ff.
55. What is the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee?
56. What is the Central Welfare Office of German Jews? What is its work? What advantages are there in the federation of various social agencies? Disadvantages? A detailed analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of philanthropic federations may be found on pp. 57-58 of Mordecai Soltes' pamphlet, *Contemporary Jewish History: Current Problems and Movements,* Series I, Social-Economic Adjustment of the Jews to the American Environment, New York: Jewish Welfare Board, 71 West 47th Street, 1931.
57. How did the growing anti-Jewish agitation of the National Socialists affect the organization of Jewish youth, economic, and other organizations?
58. What is the work of the *Hilfsverein?*
59. Do you think the German Jews have a specific Jewish culture of their own? Have American Jews? For concepts of Jewish culture see Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* pp. 221-233; Ruppin, *The Jews of To-Day,* chap. xiv: "Cultural Value of the Jews."
60. What do you think might be considered specifically Jewish in music or art?
61. Why did the Liberals and the Orthodox within the *Gemeinde* hesitate to insist on the primacy of their own ideas?

62. How would you account for the fact that conversion declined during the Republic, particularly in the latter days?
63. How does intermarriage affect the continuity of the Jewish group? How do the figures for Germany compare with the figures for other countries? Consult Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World,* chap. xx: "Mixed Marriages and Baptisms."
64. Why have the Jews in Germany during the last two generations flocked to the larger towns? What effects does this have upon the structure of Jewish life? What special problems does it create? Have we had such a movement in the United States? For the United States consult H. S. Linfield, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1927," *American Jewish Year Book,* XXX (1928-1929), pp. 101 ff.
65. What indications have we that the native German Jewish population is declining numerically?
66. Does the numerical decline of the German Jews imply spiritual decline? If you think so, then how would you account for the fact that Jewish spiritual life was never more intense than in the Middle Ages when Jewry was never more than one-third as large as it was during the period of the Roman Empire?
67. Discuss the problem of Jewish criminality.
68. What does Ahad Ha-'Am (Asher Ginzberg) mean in his essay "Slavery in Freedom" *(Selected Essays,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1912, pp. 171-194) when he implies that Western European Jews, in spite of their emancipation, are still in "moral slavery and intellectual slavery"?
69. In "Creative Exiles," chapter two of his book, *Israel* (New York: Boni & Liveright), Ludwig Lewisohn, in 1925, touches upon the fate of the cultured Jews in the lands of German speech. In the light of present conditions how right was Lewisohn?

"Twelve Months Later: A Composite Report on the Situation of the Jews in Germany," New York: Joint Distribution Committee, 1934. This twelve page pamphlet is the best description in English of the rehabilitation work of the Jews in Germany.

CHAPTERS XX-XXIII

THE FUTURE OF GERMAN JEWRY: IF HITLER FALLS

THE FUTURE OF GERMAN JEWRY: IF HITLER SURVIVES

THE FUTURE OF GERMAN JEWRY: ELEMENTS OF STRENGTH

THE FUTURE OF GERMAN JEWRY: ELEMENTS OF WEAKNESS

Supplementary Readings

WILL THE OTHER NATIONS DESTROY THE THIRD REICH?

Jews in Nazi Germany, The, New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1933, pp. 57-98, "American Public Opinion."

Voice of Religion, The: The Views of Christian Religious Leaders on the Persecution of the Jews in Germany by the National Socialists, New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1933.

Wise, James Waterman, *Swastika: The Nazi Terror,* New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1933, chap. viii: "What Can Be Done?"

WHAT MAY BE EXPECTED FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

Asylum for Refugees Under Our Immigration Laws: Views of some distinguished contemporaries and of leaders of public opinion of earlier days on asylum, and their application to German political and religious refugees, prepared for the Committee of Ten, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Chairman, 1624 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York, N. Y., pp. 9-11.

Benns, F. Lee, *Europe Since 1914,* New York: F. S. Crofts & Company, 1934, pp. 226-228.

"Bernheim Petition to the League of Nations" etc., *in American Jewish Year Book,* XXXV (1933-1934), pp. 74 ff.

Dawson, W. H., *Germany Under the Treaty,* London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1933, chap. v: "Upper Silesia: I. Plebiscite and Insurrection"; chap. vi: "Upper Silesia: II. The Partition and Its Effects."

Goldstein, Sidney E., *The League of Nations and the Grounds for Action in Behalf of the Jews of Germany,* New York: 40 West 68th Street, 1933.

Kohler, Max J., *The United States and German Jewish Persecutions—Precedents for Popular and Governmental Action,* New York: The Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 498 West End Ave., 1933.

Shulman, Charles E., *Problems of the Jews in the Contemporary World,* Chicago: The Argus Book Shop, 1934, chap. i: "The Jews of the World."

THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT AS AN ATTEMPT TO UNSEAT HITLERISM

Feinberg, Adolph J., "Boycott—An Evaluation," *Hebrew Union College Monthly,* XXI (1933), No. 2, pp. 9-11.

FRIEDMAN, NEWTON J., "Boycott—An Historical Precedent. The Ancona Affair," *Hebrew Union College Monthly*, XXI (1934), No. 4, pp. 5-6. For the Ancona affair consult also Graetz, H., *History of the Jews*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1894, Vol. IV, pp. 577 ff., and Vogelstein, Hermann, and Paul Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1895, Vol. II, p. 158.

WINKLER, MAX, "Nazi Economic Policy," in *Nazism: An Assault on Civilization*, New York: H. Smith and R. Haas, 1934, pp. 161-177.

UNTERMYER, SAMUEL, *The Boycott Is Our Only Weapon Against Nazi Germany*, New York: American League for the Defense of Jewish Rights, 729 Seventh Avenue, 1934. This is a spirited appeal for an economic boycott against Nazi controlled Germany.

THE ALTERNATIVES OPEN TO GERMAN JEWRY:
1. MIGRATION

Asylum for Refugees Under Our Immigration Laws, pp. 4 ff.

COHEN, ISRAEL, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1929, pp. 194-204, describes post-War immigration till about 1928.

"German-Jewish Situation, The," in *Jewish Review*, September-December, 1933, pp. 23-26.

RUPPIN, ARTHUR, *The Jews in the Modern World*, London: Macmillan and Company, 1934, pp. 381 ff., treats of the absorptive capacity of Palestine.

ELEMENTS OF STRENGTH:
2. INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS

"Conference for Relief of German Jewry" in *The American Jewish Committee: Twenty-Seventh Annual Report*, pp. 99 ff.

TOPICS FOR STUDY, DISCUSSION, AND PAPERS

1. Review briefly the political, economic, and social disabilities of the Jew in present day Germany.
2. Will an improvement in the world economic situation help the Jews in Germany?
3. Analyze Goldstein's pamphlet, *The League of Nations and the Grounds for Action in Behalf of the Jews in Germany.*
4. Why did the League of Nations not intervene on behalf of the Jews of Germany?
5. By what authority did the League intervene on behalf of the Jews in Upper Silesia?
6. What significance has this with reference to the desirability of minority rights agreements in countries where Jews are present in considerable numbers?
7. Why is the intervention in Upper Silesia of no real significance? Can anything be done about this?
8. For an anti-Semitic picture of Upper Silesia during the

plebiscite period read the novel by Graham Seton, *The Governor of Kattowitz,* London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 1930. What justice is there in the view here presented?

9. What is the task of the High Commissioner for German refugees? What are the limitations under which he operates? What could be accomplished if his sphere of activity were increased?
10. How would you account for the fact that the majority of the Jewish refugees went to France? Compare the prospects for Jewish refugees in the various lands to which they have fled. What relationship does this have to the problem of anti-Semitism in these lands?
11. Is the United States the solution of the German refugee problem? List the arguments on both sides. What are the effects which the admission of large numbers of German refugees would have upon the depression, upon the N.R.A., upon the American Jew in the professions and in industry, upon anti-Semitic movements in America, upon American Jewish social service work, and the like?
12. Is Palestine a solution? Give reasons? What would be the attitude of Jews now in Palestine? Would this be different from the attitude of supporters of Zionism outside of Palestine?
13. What Jewish organizations constitute the Joint Consultative Council? What do you know about the nature and work of each? Consult *Jewish Encyclopedia,* "B'nai B'rith," and the directory of national organizations in the current *American Jewish Year Book.* The American Jewish Committee (171 Madison Avenue, New York City) also publishes an annual report which is reprinted in large part as an appendix to the *American Jewish Year Book.*
14. On what grounds have various bar, medical, academic, and clerical groups protested against Germany's attitude to her Jewish citizens? See *The Jews in Nazi Germany,* New York:

The American Jewish Committee, 1933, pp. 92-98. What effect have these protests had?

15. How would you account for the fact that the liberal and democratic nations have made no attempt to unseat the Hitler government? How do you account for the difference between their attitude toward Germany and their attitude toward Soviet Russia at the time of its establishment? Is Hitlerism less a menace than communism?
16. What motivates the boycott of German goods and services by liberals and Jews? Why do many Jews object to the boycott? What are the evidences as to the success or failure of the boycott?
17. Why did the Ancona boycott fail?
18. In May, 1877, Joseph Seligman, one of the most prominent Jews in the United States, was refused rooms in the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga Springs, New York. Jews throughout the United States, in retaliation, proceeded to boycott the A. T. Stewart Company, one of the businesses of the anti-Semitic owner of the Grand Union Hotel, Judge Hilton. Consult the general daily newspapers and the available Jewish newspapers for June, 1877, and discuss the nature, extent, and degree of success of the boycott then practiced by the Jews of this country. Consult also *Jewish Encyclopedia,* "Seligman, Joseph."
19. If Hitler falls, what are the possibilities as to what will happen to the Jews of Germany? How would the establishment of a communistic regime in Germany affect the Jews? A monarchistic regime? With the occupational distribution tables given in Chapter IX in mind, how do you think the Jews would view the advent of communism? Remembering the religious divisions, how do you think each would view the same event? In the event of the reestablishment of a monarchy, would the status of the Jew more likely approximate pre- or post-emancipation times?

20. Judging from present indications do you think that Hitler is here to stay? Some feel the only chance for the fall of Hitler is for him to be beaten in the war which many think he is preparing to fight. What are the prospects for such a war in the near future? Are there any evidences that Germany is re-arming? What would be the probable line-up of the nations? What would be the probable outcome?
21. Is the German Jewish problem to be solved in Germany or outside of it? Why?
22. Why do the Nazis not finish their job of destroying the economic life of the German Jew? In what ways are the Jews and "Aryans" bound together by mutual economic interests? Where does the "point of diminishing returns" from persecution come in?
23. What will be the chief articles in the special Jewish charter which the National Socialist government is expected to promulgate? What would be the advantages and disadvantages of such a charter? How would such a charter compare with those under which Jews lived in medieval times? For the materials dealing with the provisions of medieval charters consult Graetz, Vol. III, pp. 567-569; *Jewish Encyclopedia,* "Austria," pp. 322-323 contains summaries of two very important charters. *Jewish Encyclopedia,* "Frederick II (The Great)"; "Kammerknechtschaft"; Philipson, *Old European Jewries,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1894, chap. iii.
24. Why would the limitation of Jewish lawyers and doctors be an injustice? How many of these professionals do the Jews themselves need to serve their own people? How does this tendency in Germany compare with the reputed tendency of medical and law schools in the United States to limit the number of their Jewish students? What attitude ought Jews to take toward this tendency in our own country? What could we do to direct Jewish students into other fields?

There is a bibliography on the so-called *numerus clausus* in certain American professional and academic institutions in Bruno Lasker, *Jewish Experiences in America,* New York: The Inquiry, 1930, pp. 197-199; 200-201.

25. To what extent would German Jews be willing to fit into the National Socialist scheme of things? Is Judaism in consonance with National Socialism?
26. What group among the German Jews is willing to accept minority rights? Why? What facts evidence the wisdom or lack of wisdom of this policy? How have Jews fared in other minority rights countries?
27. What is the work of the National Committee of German Jews?
28. What is the nature of the Central Advisory Council for Relief and Reconstruction? Do you think it advisable that there be an international relief organization of Jews to aid the Germans? What could such an organization accomplish? What would be its weaknesses?
29. What is the work of the Central Committee of German Jews for Help and Reconstruction? What is prompting the German Jews to turn to manual trades and agriculture? Do you think that the German Jewish problem will be solved if the German Jews turn in large numbers to agriculture and the manual trades?
30. Why are the Jews found in such small numbers in agriculture? What evidences are there in other countries (*i.e.,* Russia, United States, South America, Palestine, etc.) of the success or failure of the attempt to make the Jew a farmer? How effective is agriculture as a solution to the general occupational problem of the Jew? Material on the Jew in agriculture a generation ago may be found in Boris D. Bogen, *Jewish Philanthropy,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917, chap. ix: "The Back to the Soil Movement"; *Jewish Encyclopedia,* "Agricultural Colonies in the Argentine Republic";

"Agricultural Colonies in Canada"; "Agricultural Colonies in Palestine"; "Agricultural Colonies in Russia"; "Agricultural Colonies in the United States"; "Jewish Colonization Association"; Leonard G. Robinson, "Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America," *American Jewish Year Book,* XIV (1912-1913), pp. 21-115. The post-War development of the Jew on the farm is treated by Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* and Arthur Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World.* (Consult the index in both volumes.) The latest reports for activities in Russia and the United States may be secured by writing, respectively, to the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation (7 Hanover Street, New York City) and to the Jewish Agricultural Society (301 E. 14th Street, New York City). The most accurate statement of the progress in the Jewish colonies in Palestine may be secured in the annual reports, dealing with the administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, which are submitted by the English government to the Council of the League of Nations. Mordecai Soltes in his syllabus, *Contemporary Jewish History: Current Problems and Movements,* discusses the "back-to-the-farm" movement in some detail, pp. 37-39; 41-44.

31. Why will many Jews prefer hawking and peddling to the crafts? Is this a good thing?
32. Why will the Jews of Germany today need their own special Jewish schools? How is the secular education in these schools apt to differ from the secular education offered in the German schools? What is the task of the Jewish part of the educational program? How will this differ from Jewish education before the emancipation?
33. How has the coming to power of the National Socialists affected the Jewish youth movement? What part can this movement play in the regeneration of German Jewry?
34. To what extent has the rise of the Third Empire helped the Zionist movement in Germany? What justice is there in the

Zionists' view of the future of German Jewry? How practical is it?

35. How Jewish are the anti-Zionists in Germany?
36. What chances have the German Jews to participate in the Olympic games of 1936?
37. What is the Cultural League of German Jews? Why was it created? What part can it play in the future of German Jewry?
38. Compare the cultural life of the German Jew today under the Third Reich with that of his ancestors in medieval Europe. For Jewish cultural life in the Middle Ages consult Abrahams, Israel, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,* London: Edward Goldston, 1932.
39. Will German Jewry be destroyed completely? Will it survive to a certain extent? Will the Jewry which survives be worth the effort? Give reasons.
40. Can a Jewry survive in spite of severe disabilities? How about Jews in nineteenth century Russia and Roumania? Consult the article "Russia" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* especially the section on "Legislation," pp. 548 ff. See also Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland,* Vol. III, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1920. The last chapter (xxxvii), "External Oppression and Internal Consolidation," is particularly illuminating. For Roumania see *Jewish Encyclopedia,* "Roumania," particularly pp. 516-517. Consult also the articles on the Jews of Roumania in the *American Jewish Year Book,* Vol. III (1901-1902), pp. 25-87. What were the elements of strength and the elements of weakness in the situation of the Jews in these countries? Is there any real evidence for the opinion of some that the Jew survives best under oppression? If this is true, why not support anti-Semitic movements?
41. Why, in all probability, will the Jews of Germany not be expelled? Do you think Germany would decline in power

and importance if it did expel the Jews? Read Hugo Bettauer's *The City Without Jews,* New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1926. What does this contribute to your opinion on the subject?

42. Explain the inevitable decline in the size of German Jewry.
43. What is the difference between a Jewish free thinker, a Christian Jew, and a Marrano? Consult the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* "Marrano" and for a more detailed study, Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos,* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1932. What do you think is likely to happen to the Christian Jews of Germany? Should Jewish organizations concern themselves with these people? for relief? for reclamation?
44. What will be the new economic pattern of German Jewry? What difference is this apt to make, if any, in the Nazi attitude and program? What difference will it make among the Jews as far as their own happiness and welfare is concerned?
45. How will the new changes in Germany affect the type and character of German Jewish institutions? Since it is a foregone conclusion that world Jewry cannot save all present-day German Jewish institutions, which ought to be helped and which is it safe, even though unpleasant, to let die?
46. In what specific ways will the cultural and social future of the Jews in Germany be affected by the Hitler regime? Some feel that as soon as *all Jews* are deprived of social contact with the non-Jewish world, they will build up a compensating internal social life and not miss the other. What do you think of the possibilities and effects of this?
47. What inference would you draw from the fact that Mongolians are not included in the non-Aryan category? Does this exemption of the Mongolians from the race disabilities imposed on Jews throw any light on the real motives behind the non-Aryan (anti-Jewish) legislation?
48. Inasmuch as the Jew does not encourage intermarriage, why

then does he object to any action of the state prohibiting his marriage with non-Jews?

49. How are various types of Jews apt to react psychologically to the anti-Jewish legislation of the National Socialists?
50. Has the German Jew derived any benefits from anti-Semitism?
51. Do you think the German Jews could have prevented anti-Semitism? How?
52. If Moses Mendelssohn were alive today what, in your opinion, would he advise the German Jews to do? What would Herzl advise them to do? Bear in mind that Herzl, unlike his followers of today, did not believe in dribble-immigration. To understand Herzl's point of view read *A Jewish State,* New York: Federation of American Zionists, 1917.
53. Are there any compensations in the ghetto type of life? Read Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages.*

CHAPTER XXIV

HITLERISM AND WORLD JEWRY

Nazism: An Assault on Civilization, New York: H. Smith and R. Haas, 1934, contains the following articles of interest: Stanley High, "The War on Religious Freedom"; Werner Hegemann, "The Debasement of the Professions"; Alice Hamilton, "The Enslavement of Women"; I. A. Hirschmann, "The Degradation of Culture"; Ludwig Lore, "The Fate of the Worker"; John Haynes Holmes, "The Threat to Freedom"; Ludwig Lewisohn, "The Revolt against Civilization"; Emil Lengyel, "The Brown International"; Stephen S. Wise, "The War upon World Jewry"; Pierre van Paassen, "The Danger to World Peace"; Albert Brandt, "The Invasion of America"; Charles H. Tuttle, "The American Reaction"; Miriam Beard, "Hitler Unexpurgated: Deletions from *Mein Kampf*"; William Green, "The Attack on Labor"; Samuel Guy Inman, "South America Reacts to Hitlerism"; Alfred E. Smith, "The Challenge to America."

Wertheimer, Mildred S., "The Foreign Policy of the Third Reich," *Foreign Policy Reports,* X, No. 2, March 28, 1934.

Supplementary Readings

Banse, Ewald, *Germany Prepares for War,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934. Banse is Professor of Military Science at the Brunswick Technical College. He is an exponent of militarism.

Brunauer, Esther Caukin, *The National*

Revolution in Germany, 1933, Washington, D. C.: International Relations Office, American Association of University Women, National Headquarters, 1634 I St., pp. 20-21.

Fox, G. George, *Democracy and Nazi-ism,* Chicago: The Argus Book Shop, Inc., 1934.

Germany: Twilight or New Dawn? New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, chap. x: "Germany in Europe."

Hitler, *My Battle,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933, Part II, chaps. xiii-xv.

Hoover, Calvin B., *Germany Enters the Third Reich,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, chap. ix: "Some International Consequences of the Third Reich."

Leiper, Henry Smith, *Personal View of the German Churches under the Revolution:* A confidential report based on intimate personal contact with the leaders on both sides of the Church and State controversy in the Third Reich. Issued by American Section: Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City, 1933.

Macfarland, Charles S., *The New Church and the New Germany,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934.

McGrady, Pat, *Fascism in America,* New York: Jewish Daily Bulletin, 1934. An exposé of Nazi and nativist movements in the United States.

The New Germany: A Symposium by Adolf Hitler, Franz von Papen, Konstantin von Neurath, Joseph Paul Goebbels, Hans Luther, and Other Leaders, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. The National Socialist point of view.

"Nordicus," *Hitlerism,* New York: The Mohawk Press, 1932, chap. xii: "Triple Alliance Made to Order"; chap. xx: "Hitler and France."

Powell, Edward Alexander, *The Long Roll on the Rhine,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. A sympathetic view of the Third Reich.

Stowe, Leland, *Nazi Means War,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.

Shulman, Charles E., *Problems of the Jews in the Contemporary World,* Chicago: Argus Book Shop, 1934, chap. ii: "The Jews of the United States." A thoughtful and interesting essay.

Young Germany Wants Work and Peace: Addresses of Chancellor Adolf Hitler, the Leader of the New Germany. With a Foreword by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Berlin: Liebheit and Thiesen, 1933. This defense of Germany can be secured through the International Relations Office of the American Association of University Women, 1634 I Street, Washington, D. C., price 30c.

Topics for Study, Discussion, and Papers

1. Why is Germany eager to make friends abroad?
2. If Germany penetrates the Slavic East how will the Jews in that area be affected?
3. How are the Jews of Austria protected by international law from discrimination on the basis of race? Consult the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye reprinted in part in the article on "The Peace Conference and Rights of Minorities," in the

American Jewish Year Book, XXII (1920-1922), pp. 113-115.

4. Write a brief history of the National Socialist movement in this country on the basis of Lore's and McCoy's articles.
5. Write a theme on anti-Semitic nativist movements in the United States prior to 1933. Consult Lee J. Levinger, *Anti-Semitism in the United States,* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1925; John Moffatt Mecklin, The *Ku Klux Klan,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1924. Consult the general encyclopedias for the older Know Nothing (American) Party and the original Ku Klux Klan.
6. Do you think the anti-Semitic nativist movements have a future in this land?
7. What is really behind the accusation that Jews are communists?
8. What is the significance of Hitlerism for western civilization?
9. What objection is there to state domination of religious institutions?
10. Compare National Socialistic and Russian communistic dictatorships? Has Jewry a future in Germany? In Russia? Why?
11. Why is the National Socialist government so careful in selecting those who are to study at the institutions of higher learning?
12. What is the significance of National Socialism for world Jewry?

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